

PEACE NEWS

No. 95

London: April 9, 1938

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A LEAD TO THE NATION WITH A PLAN FOR REAL PEACE

Meeting the Need for an Alternative to Arms

P.P.U. MANIFESTO SHOWS THE WAY

THE Manifesto of the Peace Pledge Union had its send-off last weekend, while at the first annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union plans were being laid for the nation-wide campaign which is to bring the Manifesto before the country as indicating the only alternative to rearmament and war.

Besides being sent out to the press, announced Canon Stuart Morris, the Manifesto had been sent to the Prime Minister and every Secretary of State, the two Archbishops, the heads of the Free Churches, and the Ambassadors of Germany, Italy, France, USA, Japan, China, and USSR.

It has also been brought to the attention of Sir Walter Citrine, the head of the trade union movement, with a request that he receive a deputation from the Sponsors of the PPU.

Turning to the text of the Manifesto, Stuart Morris said the PPU had been faced with the problem of impinging upon public opinion.

"We wanted to show people that we had a policy of constructive peace-making which was in itself an alternative to the policy of war. There is a whole mass of people waiting to come over, who will be won only on the policy of a constructive peacemaking programme."

In the light of that belief the Manifesto came to be drafted.

Groups of the PPU might endeavour, he suggested, to see that every individual member made at least one convert to pacifism through the Manifesto within the next six months. "If we can double our membership before the summer, then we shall have something to talk about."

TO ROUSE PUBLIC OPINION

The national campaign was outlined by John Barclay. Groups could systematically contact every important body of public opinion in their areas.

"Posters and poster-parades can form an enormously valuable part," he continued.

"If you can get poster parades of from twelve to 100 people and parade the towns proclaiming this Manifesto, and giving away literature, people's minds will be brought toward it."

Then he outlined a scheme for a great march throughout England—from Glasgow to London, from Wales to London, and from the West to London. "At every point on the route public meetings could be held in the evening, and a fresh contingent could carry on

the march for the next day. The march could terminate with a great demonstration in Hyde Park.

MASSES WAITING FOR A LEAD

James H. Hudson, who followed, showed the great need for a lead such as the Manifesto gives.

"We have decided, in the Manifesto," he said, "to embark on a campaign to convince people generally that a new political attitude on the questions of peace and war ought to be taken by them."

"We have got to make up our minds that just saying 'No' to war is not enough, that we have got quite definitely a series of positive principles which go to make up pacifism, that can be applied in individual lives, in the lives of the community and in the life of the whole world."

"With that in our minds we have set out with this Manifesto to preach a new faith to the people and to the political world, which is entirely lost. We have got a mass of fellow-citizens waiting for us, anxious for guidance."

"If you will use your political influence and tell people you have a political programme in that Manifesto, I am quite certain that in a comparatively short time we will make an altogether different attitude to arms throughout our land."

"GOOD BUSINESS FOR THE WORLD"

"The Labour Party, now more than any other today, is entirely lost on this problem. If you can go to the local organizations and make up for the guidance that their men cannot give, I think it is more than likely that you can give a new lead."

Dealing with the Van Zeeland Report, James Hudson said its importance lay in the fact that it was written by a man who was commissioned by the British and French Governments to guide them. It should be acted upon by bringing together the nations.

"It's good business for the peace of the world that we should get people who are arming to the teeth to table their various differences and try to get agreement."

[Leading article—page eight; other business of the annual general meeting—pages nine and sixteen.]



STUART MORRIS
The Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union

SPONSORS

OF THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

THE following were elected Sponsors on Saturday at the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union:

Lord Ponsonby
Donald O. Sope
Aldous Huxley
Laurence Housman
Max Plowman
Bertrand Russell
Wilfred Wellock
Vera Brittain
James H. Hudson
H. Runham Brown
Charles E. Raven
Henry Carter
Alex Wood
Arthur Wragg
Storm Jameson
Dr. Alfred Salter, MP
Siegfried Sassoon
Harold F. Bing
John Barclay
George MacLeod
Mary Gamble
J. Middleton Murry
A. Herbert Gray
Elizabeth Thorneycroft
James Barr

Pacifist Literature Sent to Public Prosecutor

A.R.P. LEADS TO LOSS OF FREEDOM

The Chief Constable of Penzance has sent to the Home Office pamphlets issued by the Peace Pledge Union to warn people that air raid precautions are a necessary part of preparation for war.

The Public Prosecutor has been asked whether the distribution of these pamphlets furnishes ground for prosecution as "a public mischief."

THESE facts were announced at the Peace Pledge Union's annual general meeting during the weekend, when Canon Stuart Morris said the PPU was taking counsel's opinion.

"We are not going to stop distributing these leaflets," he added. "If the Government is going to join with us on this issue, we shall be ready to accept the challenge."

LEGAL OPINION

It is now possible to announce that in counsel's opinion there is nothing in the PPU literature on air raid precautions that constitutes either incitement to disaffection or public nuisance. The PPU therefore urges branches in all cases to go ahead with campaigns for the distribution of ARP literature.

An attack on the PPU has also been made by the Mayor of Gloucester, where members distributed leaflets outside a hall where an official ARP meeting was being held last week.

"It seems to me lamentable," said the mayor, "that people who have come here to be advised how best to serve their country should have a document of that kind placed in their hands."

OPPOSITION SILENCED

These incidents show the desire to silence opposition to ARP. There is a

tendency toward restriction of freedom in other ways.

This is affecting the press, as PEACE NEWS showed last week. A journalist who is also a Scout writes:

I was reporting the ARP lecture given to the Scouts of our group. While we were listening one of the Scouters came up to me and said: "Whatever you do don't print the terrible results of gas warfare. Only put that we're told gas masks could defend us against all gases."

I wonder if all our press is treated in this way?

Restriction of liberty is also affecting the medical profession. A notice for senior nurses, displayed in Middlesex Hospital Nurses Home on Monday, declared: "The following nurses will be required to attend a course of lectures on 'Air Raid Precautions in Chemical Warfare.'"

There is apparently no question of the lectures being other than compulsory.

Commenting on the loss of freedom of conscience in country after country, the Rural Dean of Poplar, the Rev. Kenneth Ashcroft, shows, in the current issue of St. Michael's (Bromley-by-Bow) magazine, how the same restriction is already being taken for granted in some circles in Britain.

A few months back [he writes] we were talking to a great personage, who said it was perhaps a good thing that Dick Sheppard died when he did, for his peace pledge propaganda could not have gone on much longer and he would have found himself in serious conflict with the authorities.

The man who made this remark was a well-known member of the House of Lords, and is certainly in the know. He made this observation in casual conversation and apparently without feeling that there was anything remarkable or sinister in what he had said.

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THE PEACE ACADEMY

A SUMMER SCHOOL will be held at the CHATEAU DU MONTCEL, Jouy-en-Josas, near Paris, from August 16th-29th, 1938
General Subject: THE SCIENCE OF PEACE.

Speakers: MARIA MONTESSORI, BART de LIGT, ARNOLD GROENEVELD, HAR DAYAL, WILFRED WELLOCK and others.

(Lectures will be given in both English and French.)

Approximate cost: From Six to Eight Shillings a day.

Bathing, tennis, Walking. Accommodation for campers.

Full particulars from the British Secretary, R. H. Ward, 72, Abbey Rd., London, N.W.8

Government and Arms Policy

Angling for Support from Men Who Could Stop Preparations for War

THE next move in the attempt to gain trade union cooperation in the speeding-up of the arms programme is likely to be an invitation to a conference from engineering employers to the unions concerned.

The matter has already been discussed by Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister for the Coordination of Defence, with the unions and the employers separately.

The vital fact that rearmament itself depends upon the cooperation of the workers was clearly shown by the fact that Sir Thomas had to invite their leaders into consultation. The fact that they agreed is also significant.

The power that rests in the hands of the union leaders was responsible for a tactful approach being made to them by the Government. The same carefulness is being shown by the employers. The *Times* reported on Wednesday that it is the hope that an examination of the requirements of the case will lead to the emergence of methods of speeding-up production and that the provision of safeguards may also be accomplished with good will and an earnest desire on both sides to avoid unnecessary difficulties.

UNIONS' QUESTIONS TO MINISTER

When Sir Thomas Inskip and the Minister of Labour met the executive council of the Amalgamated Engineering Union on Monday they were subjected to a questioning which dealt with the political motive for rearmament; the control of profiteering, and methods of augmenting the labour supply.

Sir Thomas was also confronted with an insistence on the need for the Government to guarantee that if, during a period of emergency, existing conditions were relaxed, they would later be restored. He promised to consider the possibility of such a guarantee.

Although in return no assurances (even of good will) were given to the Government, it was reported that the discussion did not "forbode a refusal to help rearmament." Thus the trade union leaders are apparently not disposed to quarrel with rearmament in itself, but only with the Government's policy.

REFUSED TO USE THEIR POWER

Official circles realize this. On Wednesday, in a leading article dealing with

"the Government's call to industry to increase the pace of rearmament," *The Times* declared: "To this appeal neither the employers nor the unions will fail to respond."

Only the previous day Sir Thomas Inskip himself had said that

the men, represented by the trade unions, had shown a remarkable willingness to use their gifts and give their services in the interests of the country without quibbling

ORDER EARLY

In view of the Easter Holidays our next issue will be published one day earlier. All orders should reach this office before midday on MONDAY.

or quarrelling as to the precise conditions in which these services were rendered.

Behind all this talk lies the fact that the representatives of those who can stop the preparations for war, have refused to use their power.

In these circumstances the positive peacemaking policy which pacifists are putting forward (as shown again at the annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, reported elsewhere in this issue) is supplying a lead to the people that is lacking elsewhere.

Political Truce May Avert Czech Crisis

THE BACKGROUND IN BRIEF

A collapse of the Prague Government's authority in the German districts of Czechoslovakia was given as a possibility in a recent report.

Only the production by the Government of really far-reaching proposals almost immediately could prevent things coming to a head, it was added.

On the other hand, the situation may be improved by the fact that following the adjournment of the Czech Parliament toward the end of this week, it was proposed to declare a truce of four weeks, during which no public meetings would be held.

This, together with an amnesty for political and other offenders, was expected to lead to a calmer atmosphere for negotiations for a solution which are now proceeding.

In a broadcast on March 28, Dr. Hodza, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, referred to the question of relations between Czechs and Germans, which is the cause of the present tension.

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

The Government, he said, would continue their policy of adjusting relations between the communities within the scope of the Constitution. This was taken to indicate a policy of conciliation by gradual concessions.

The demands of the Sudeten Germans, however, as voiced by one of their spokesmen the day before the Premier's broadcast, are for self-administration in the Sudeten districts, and the holding of Parliamentary and municipal elections.

This latter demand was met by an announcement last weekend that municipal elections would be held between the middle of May and June 12.

Meanwhile, the Government apparently intends to draft a Minorities Bill, which will be discussed in Parliament and is subject to amendment.

In Germany it has been suggested that not autonomy, but partition, is the only adequate solution of the Sudeten German problem.

Public Affairs

Roman Gamble

IT now appears that Mr. Chamberlain has already won, in part, the gamble which he has made on the Anglo-Italian conversations. A few weeks ago, it looked as if the negotiations were virtually at a deadlock, and if that state of affairs had continued, it is probable that the Prime Minister would have retired temporarily and made room for a reconstruction of the Cabinet on a "democratic alliance" basis.

However, the Austrian coup resulted in a considerable change in Mussolini's attitude. Despite the superficial cordiality of relations between Berlin and Rome, the axis, like all military alliances, is founded on expediency.

There is a saying in Italy today "We have won the *Passo Romano*, but lost the *Passo di Brennero*." And from the strategic point of view, the Brenner Pass is of more value than the goose-step.

Balance of Power

HENCE the moment is ripe for bringing to fruition the British Government's plan of buying Italy out of the axis and so helping to restore the balance of power in Central Europe. Mussolini will sell the strategic positions he has gained in Spain for the price of our recognition of Italian conquest of Abyssinia, and a loan or credit to help him out in the development of his new empire.

It is understood that the British delegation to the League Council, which meets in May, will suggest that as seventeen states have already gone back on their pledge not to recognize this conquest, we might as well be realists and do the same.

The Italian Government wants this done as quickly as possible owing to the increasing resistance of the tribes.

Mussolini is naturally anxious to complete the agreement with Great Britain before the visit of Hitler to Rome, so that he can use it as a bargaining counter with Germany to prevent further encroachments in Southern Europe.

National Unity

THE efforts to produce a united front for the Government's policy were made easier by the ineffectiveness of the opposition policy. There is a possibility that Mr. Chamberlain will shortly invite Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill, now the heroes of the *New Statesman*, to join the Cabinet.

If this is done, the opposition might as well retire from active service. Yet who can doubt that such a Cabinet, obviously the result of a war scare, would be even more dangerous than the present one?

The reason for this paradox is that the opposition only disagrees as to which particular country we shall drop bombs on. And in modern days when warfare is a function of the whole economic system of nations, the enemy is determined not by choice but by strategic necessity.

Mr. Greenwood in the debate on Monday brought up the old arguments against having any relationships with the "anti-League" countries, yet ended with a plea for action on the Van Zeeland Report.

Yet, as Mr. Macdonald pointed out, the essence of the report is that all countries, particularly the dissatisfied ones, should be invited to a conference outside the League.

It is to be hoped that some members of the opposition parties will have time to read the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto.

Coordination

THE Minister for the Coordination of Defence has now met the leaders of the employers and workers in the main branches of the armament industries. No detailed proposals have been made to them, and so far the only opposition has come from the Amalgamated Engineering Union.

The AEU is undoubtedly in the best position to offer resistance, as it represents 340,000 skilled men whose services

Commentary

are essential for the working of the rearmament programme. No final decision can be made by the union until it meets at Morecambe in the first week in June.

The points which will be discussed at this meeting as relevant to the cooperation of the workers come under three headings: the restriction of manufacturers' profits; the conditions of the workers and their position under the Trades Disputes Acts; and the use to which the arms will be put.

Engineers' Dilemma

THE men will find themselves in a dilemma, torn between the desire to get a share of the benefits of the rearmament programme, and their reluctance to produce munitions whose use is purely destructive.

They hope, presumably, to save their consciences by obtaining a guarantee that their handicraft will only be used for the destruction of fascists. If they are realistic, they will realize that in fact munitions can only be used for killing their fellow workers in other countries.

It is remarkable how in the last few years the Labour movement in this country has forgotten the internationalism on which it was originally based, and has lined up with the imperialism which it used so energetically to oppose.

This is largely because the movement has lost the moral basis which it originally had.

Results of Imperialism

IN an integrated State like Great Britain, the benefits of imperialism accrue in some measure to all the inhabitants, so that any policy from any section of the community based purely on self-interested motives, leads inevitably to an imperialist foreign policy.

In the short run, such a policy means an industrial boom which affects almost the whole country, but in the long run it means war, and the loss for ever of any benefits which may have temporarily resulted from the rearmament programme.

The armament workers should realize that as the building programme becomes more intense, the importance of their cooperation becomes greater.

Resistance to the making of armaments is the most powerful way of opposing the militarization of the country, but it involves a willingness to sacrifice on the part of the workers, which can only be the result of a moral objection on their part to the production of armaments for any purpose whatever.

Public Opinion

THE War Minister was asked in Parliament on Tuesday "whether his attention had been called to the continued refusal of the London County Council to allow cadet corps to train in its secondary schools," and whether he would do something about it. Mr. Hore-Belisha's answer contains a moral for pacifists. He said he anticipated

that educational authorities who refuse to allow cadets to use their schools will only change their attitude under increasing pressure of public opinion in favour of allowing such use.

Most such changes require the support of public opinion more than is sometimes realized. It is up to those who do not want schools to be junior barracks to play their part in influencing public opinion.

Mr. Eden Named for Nobel Prize

Mr. Anthony Eden has been nominated as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize.

His name was unanimously adopted by the Board of Jassie University, Rumania, and forwarded on Wednesday to the committee which awards the prize.

What Labour Should Tell Chamberlain

IN an article referring to J. M. Keynes's "Positive Peace Programme," published in the *New Statesman*, and the proposal in *Reynolds News* for a United Peace Alliance, Emrys Hughes writes in *Forward*:

If you cannot win a war, in any event you cannot be among the winners, why begin it? Why continue it?

That should be British Labour's reply to Chamberlain. Support for collective action against Germany, combined with threats of Britain's rearmament and its new terrifying power is going to rally the German working class to support of Hitler.

British Labour should frame its peace proposals now and broadcast them through the world as the Bolsheviks did in 1918. For behind the Nazi facade there is a nation that hates and dreads war too.

For British socialists there should be only one slogan: Workers of the World Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. It is an old one. But it is a great deal more sincere and honest than these United Peace Alliances and Positive Pacifist Programmes which while paying lip service to peace imply support of war.

If we cannot in any event be winners in a war (Mr. Chamberlain, with Opposition cheers) the "Workers of the World Unite" slogan should be good enough for us yet.

France

PACIFISTS RALLY SUPPORT FOR FIGHT AGAINST WAR PREPARATIONS

From Our Own Correspondent.

MENDON, Seine-et-Oise.

SOME people seem to be waking up under the strain of the past few weeks. As a result pacifist activity is growing. For some ten days a pacifist group in Clamart, a town near Mendon, has been stirring up interest.

A week ago the local section of the RUP (International Peace Campaign), which is under communist control, summoned peace-minded people to a meeting. It hoped to be able to impose its own views and put up its own speakers.

"WAR TO MAINTAIN PEACE"

Representatives of the pacifist group asked the RUP leaders to make plain their aims and methods. The latter were at a loss, and asked the pacifists to wait until the meeting, when their speakers would put their case for them.

When the meeting took place one of the speakers advocated that "we would have to go to war to maintain peace."

Then Robert Jospin, one of the best speakers of the Ligue Internationale des Combattants pour la Paix (International League of Fighters for Peace), explained the pacifist standpoint. Many of those present had their opinions shaken and others admitted never having heard the pacifist view before.

UNITY AGAINST WAR MOVES

Subsequently, a score of people whose minds had been changed, belonging to or sympathizers with left-wing parties, were called together to form a local committee to combat the "sacred union" and war.

Thus, around the original pacifist group have formed most of the members of the local groups of the Union Anarchiste, Révolution Proletarienne, and Solidarité Internationale Anti-Fasciste, as well as individuals who are in a minority in their organizations—a few of the ARAC (Republican Association of Ex-Service men, a communist stronghold), left-wing socialists, and former communists.

So it hopes to succeed in warning the people against the so-called peace policies which now prevail under the lead of the communist party. In addition, we will endeavour to make all these small peace organizations unite on the national scale.

In this way it should be possible to repair the great losses which the peace movement has experienced during the last three or four years.

The two main causes of these have been, I think, the growth (and decay in principles) of the Communist Party, and the growth of fascism abroad. Lately, too, the Spanish War has shaken pacifists and torn away anarchist sympathizers.

Holland

All War Work Refused

Members of the Dutch Manifesto Movement, which was referred to in a letter from Annie van der Plaats published last week, promise

never to take part in war or do any direct or indirect military work in barracks, laboratories, factories, the press, church or schools, &c.

Ambulance work comes in this category. The movement is intensely active and has, among other things, organized a relief fund for conscientious objectors and all those victimized for anti-militarist action.

International

50,000 CHILDREN FOUND FRIENDS ABROAD

From a Correspondent

INTRODUCTIONS among some 50,000 children drawn from 74 different countries have been effected by the International Friendship League, an American body which specializes in the promotion of "pen friendships," and the arranging of foreign travel.

Contact with the children is made officially through the appropriate directors of Education, and as a result of this care the children enjoy the liberty of indulging in uncensored correspondence.

This lack of oversight and censorship is of fundamental importance in work of this nature.

In the field of travel its work is again confined to the younger generation, and for several years past a party of carefully selected college girls has visited Europe under its auspices. The essentials of this party are that the girls should receive prior instruction to fit them to be understanding and sympathetic ambassadors, and that they should spend two weeks of their time as "adopted daughters" in English homes.

A reciprocal arrangement is also in force whereby English girls are taken in a party to America and entertained as guests in American homes. Arrangements in England for the dispatch of the English party are made through London Rotarians.

VISITORS THIS SUMMER

The success of this work has led the League this year to expand its activities and to plan for further parties. It is probable that Britain will be visited by a party of boys, who will stay in Scottish homes, while arrangements have been made for a cycling party from Dean Academy, Franklin, Mass., and for a party of 50 school children from Cleveland, Ohio, who are to spend their summer vacation in English or Scottish homes. Again, this work is on a reciprocal basis and involves the dispatch of a similar party to receive like hospitality in America.

The address of the International Friendship League is 41, Mount Vernon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

U.S.A.

Truth Presented With a Punch

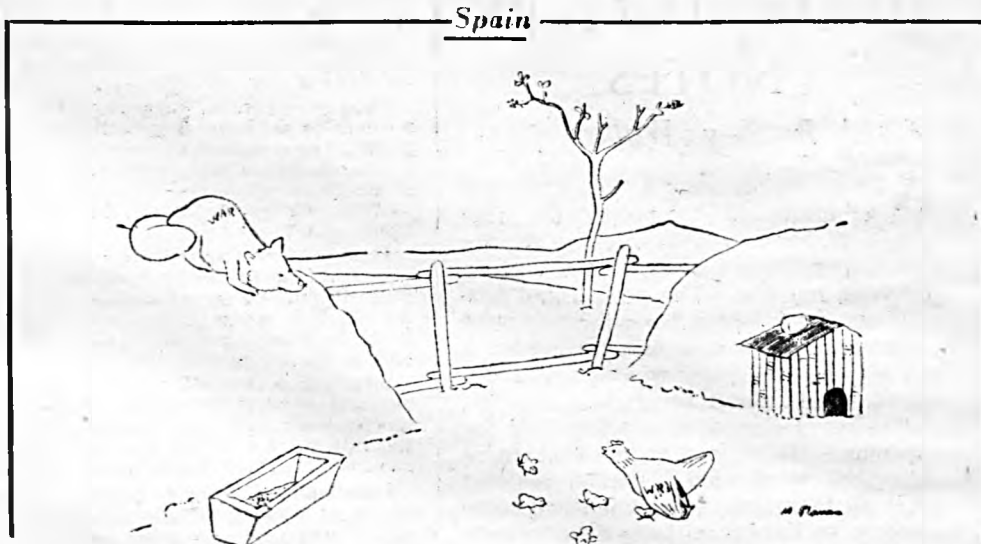
I renounce war. I renounce war because of what it does to our own men . . . I renounce war because of what it compels us to do to our enemies, bombing their mothers in villages, starving their children by blockades, laughing over our coffee cups about every damnable thing we have been able to do for them.

I renounce war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracy, for the starvation that stalks after it.

I renounce war and never again, directly or indirectly will I sanction or support another!

Who said that—Goethe, George Lansbury, Fenner Brockway, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick (prominent American pacifist), or the Archbishop of Canterbury?

Perhaps the question isn't quite a fair



Young Refugee Who Knows the Way to Peace

PACIFISTS RELIEVE SUFFERING CAUSED BY WAR

ABOVE you will see how a child refugee from Spain visualizes the relief work of the War Resisters' International.

The artist, Miguel Planas, is thirteen years old, and is one of the child refugees from Spain in the home established by the War Resisters' International at Prats-de-Mollo in the South of France.

Equally interesting is a message he has written, which, together with this and other drawings, is contained in a pamphlet entitled *Our Work in Spain*, just published by the War Resisters' International.

THE ONLY CURE

"Many children think that war is no more than a review of tin soldiers, clad in showy uniforms, commanded by a general proudly mounted on horseback," writes Miguel. "But it is nothing of the sort."

"This terrible scourge which is devastating Spain and China cannot be compared with cholera or the plague, since a number of methods of cure are known for those sicknesses, but for war there is only one cure—peace."

"Peace! Beautiful word! How many memories it brings to my mind!"

After recalling some of those memories, and telling of the coming of war to his home, Miguel Planas continues:

And then one day came a delegate of the War Resisters' International, and he took me with several of my comrades whose homes had also been destroyed by the "birds of death," to the home at Prats-de-Mollo.

Here we learn a loathing for war, which is the cause of our misfortune, and to love one another, without strife. Here we have a home, toys, books, a large family (since mutual love makes one large family of us all), little French friends and, through the War Resisters' International, we receive proofs of affection from all countries of the world.

OTHERS STILL SUFFER

We live happily, with no other pain than the memory of the children who, less fortunate than ourselves, continue to suffer in Spain all the miseries and horrors we once knew.

The young refugee concludes with this appeal:

Oh! Children of all countries, hate war even more than I do! You have a father or a mother: tell them that war is your worst enemy. Ask them to hate it too for the very love they bear to you.

You have a family, home, food, toys, books: remember my story, remember that war can destroy all that happiness.

Let us work resolutely and constantly against this scourge. Let us love peace. Let us turn the instruments of war into instruments of usefulness. Let there be no more war!

Grown-up men and women have formed a War Resisters' International. Let us be resolute to continue their work!

WORK ON BOTH SIDES

The Spanish relief work of the WRI is not confined to running the home for child refugees. Other activities include: Distribution of milk, biscuits, soap and clothing through WRI centres in Valencia, Barcelona, Almeria, Aguilas, Murcia, and Madrid; Distribution of medicines, bacon, lard, sugar, and soap in the Basque country; Financial and material help to needy cases—Government and Nationalist sides of the country; Intermediary action in obtaining information about people in Nationalist Spain for relatives in the Government area—and vice versa, and Negotiations for exchange of prisoners.

More information about some of this activity is given by members of the Spanish Section of the WRI in a message which is also printed in *Our Work in Spain*. This pamphlet is obtainable from the WRI at 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Canada

M.P. ATTACKS INTERESTS THAT LEAD TO WAR

From Our Own Correspondent

OTTAWA.

THE statement of the Canadian Prime Minister that if Britain found herself in trouble she would find Canada by her side has given rise to disagreement.

Voicing his dissent from the Premier's words, Mr. P. J. Rowe, who represents Athabasca (Alberta) in the Dominion Parliament, called attention to the fact that

those interests which we might be called upon to defend in some foreign country were the result of a defect in the present economic system in its development one hundred years ago,

which has resulted in the rise of capital investments by Great Britain in other countries.

"I want it clearly understood," continued Mr. Rowe, "that if patriotism means the art of inducing someone who has no interests at home to defend someone else's interests abroad, then we had better revise our ideas of patriotism."

"I suggest further that it takes neither moral nor physical courage to arrange wars for other people to fight."

Most Canadian MPs, he said, were beyond the age to be conscripted, and should be very careful about the policies they instituted. It was very easy to launch policies of foreign trade which gave rise to conflicts resulting in war, but it would be a different thing if they were made to go out and fight for the policies they initiated.

Declaring that "Canada is in an unexampled position to initiate as a means of defence the as yet untried methods of sharing, constructive cooperation, and good will in accordance with Christian principles," Mr. Needham, another Canadian MP, has tabled a resolution urging the Dominion Parliament to consider the advisability of calling a world conference to remove the causes of war.

HEADQUARTERS' NOTES

By Roy Walker

A FEW weeks ago I found myself climbing into the pulpit of a large North Wales church to speak as deputy for Canon Stuart Morris. It was an exciting moment. The doubts and misgivings of a five-hour train journey were forgotten and I was only aware of a fervent desire to say what I felt about pacifism and about the PPU.

Then, as I glanced round, I noticed the parsons. It seemed to me that there were dozens of them. And I realized that all these good clergymen had come—some perhaps from long distances—to hear Stuart Morris. I apologized and did what I could.

At the moment I am experiencing exactly the same sensations. "Headquarters Notes" is the column I have always turned to first in PEACE NEWS. It is not only that Max Plowman always has something worth saying—it is his wise and infinitely human way of saying it that made the articles so delightful. And in passing off my own juvenile meanderings under the title of "Headquarters Notes" I feel uncommonly like a usurper.

Writing in the small hours after the annual general meeting and with vivid recollections of a hysterical impulse to cheer during Stuart Morris's closing remarks it is a little difficult to speak in moderate terms. Anniversaries tempt us to divide history into "periods" and to me a retrospect of the last few months forms something of a complete pattern.

My own connexion with headquarters commenced where Max Plowman's report ended, in November of last year, and my first job was connected with the organization of the Albert Hall memorial meeting. After a week of frantic work the day arrived and a few minutes before the meeting began I hit the Albert Hall very hard with my head and spent most of the evening in the St. John Ambulance room receiving treatment for mild concussion. I staggered upstairs again just in time to join uncertainly in the singing of *Jerusalem*.

There is something symbolical about the incident. Before coming to Regent Street I had crammed my head full of neat "arguments" for pacifism and had reached a stage of abstract complaisance strictly analogous to concussion.

Life at headquarters has been, I hope, a sort of spiritual first-aid. The effect of throwing off a feeling of stupefaction and coming in at the climax of the

THE NOTICE BOARD

As PEACE NEWS will be out a day earlier for Easter, delivery of next week's issue will be made a day earlier.

Glasgow.—Wanted, urgently, enthusiastic member to organize street-selling of PEACE NEWS. Also names of volunteers to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders. Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Loud-speaker Car will tour all towns and villages of Devon during April and May, with Dick Sheppard's record and literature. Will all members please make themselves known to the area organizer, Mr. E. C. Maddax, who will be travelling with the car.

Information wanted about shipping—particularly services flying the Panama Flag—in connexion with work for certain refugees. Get into touch with the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Contributions toward Lambeth Library's copies of PEACE NEWS would be greatly appreciated from any group in this Borough. Send to R. A. Hembray, 124 St. Louis Road, S.E.27.

Wanted: volunteers for poster parades. Exeter (April 16, 3.30 p.m.) Write E. C. Maddax, 39 Manor Road, Newton Abbot.

Groups wanting film show before the summer apply as soon as possible. Dates still vacant are: April 11-18, 20-27, and 30.

Two Basque children at Basque House are still unadopted. Would anyone like to adopt one?

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Parents of young student from Paris desire to offer exchange hospitality to an English boy or girl of same age (thirteen or fourteen) in July and August. Visit to England desired to perfect knowledge of language. French family can be highly recommended.—Communicate with War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers are wanted to sell PEACE NEWS in Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

West Norwood group will meet on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall—adjacent to West Norwood tram terminus.

Anyone not wishing to go on Pilgrimage to Canterbury on Easter Monday is invited to join a hike round the Beeches and Windsor Great Park.—Communicate with P. J. Pitman, 141 Granville Avenue, Slough.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

Albert Hall meeting was unforgettable. And the sudden translation from a sphere of commercial aridity and intellectual self-satisfaction to 96 Regent Street, the stimulus of finding myself suddenly surrounded by people like Max and Stuart and John Barclay—the really unanswerable arguments for pacifism—had something of revelation about it.

For the future of the PPU I have great hopes. But whatever is to come I am content if I may meet it in the high company of such men and women as I have found not only here but scattered among our groups throughout the country.

GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

I SHOULD like to thank all those who helped me at the annual general meeting last Saturday and Sunday. It was a magnificent assembly: nearly one thousand members from all parts of the British Isles, and my only regret is that the time was so short. By making the best use of it, I managed to get personal talks with about three hundred out of the thousand.

The stewards had no "chucking-out" to do, and book-stall volunteers will be glad to hear that between them they sold £12 of books. The mascot dogs—"pacifist and non-pacifist"—may have had something to do with this, as I am told they were much admired.

The best thanks are due to those members who acted as hosts to delegates from a distance. We have had no complaints from either side, and quite a number of bouquets have been sent from the visitors, which I now hand out ad lib.

Already the post is bringing in new orders by the thousand for manifestos and demands for literature are taxing our packing department to capacity. Voting papers were dealt with on Monday, and the scene in the office resembled polling day as the time came for results to be published.

Everyone will be glad to see Lord Ponsonby's name at the head of the list. I am preparing to back up the new manifesto campaign undertaken by the groups, and any help that can be given from headquarters will be at the disposal of those making the first applications.

Pressure is increasing on both sides with regard to ARP, and we may shortly be faced with a situation which threatens freedom of action for minorities. This will be the time for all those who care for democracy and freedom to rally to the PPU.

We are rapidly taking the place of "His Majesty's Opposition" simply because we have the only consistent and constructive alternative to the present drift into war.

With all the strength we have, individually and collectively as groups, let us proclaim the gospel of reconciliation and appeasement. Let all our petty differences be forgotten in the spirit that inspires us all. We have the faith and the courage; we only need the will.

Last week I went to the Watford group's first public meeting. It was held on a Sunday afternoon in the Regal Cinema. Various guesses had been made as to the chances of filling it.

It holds 1,200 or so, and as it was a fine afternoon and as Watford is, like all places in England (according to pessimists), the "last place God made," and therefore hopeless for pacifism, an estimate by an optimist was 500. The manager of the cinema himself told me that he expected 200 at the outside. Actually, 900 people came, and a profit of £10 resulted.

Donald Soper was in tremendous form, and made an appeal to the younger members of the audience, which was irresistible. He had to leave early to go to another meeting, so that I was left to hold the baby and answer questions.

If the people of Watford support such a meeting, what about all the other market towns and feudal outposts of Empire? Believe me, there is no last place except the "pub" at Land's End, which is also the first, according to which way you are facing.

London group leaders on March 29 held their meeting in the Father Jellicoe Hall, St. Pancras. This was because the headquarters dramatic group needed a stage for two pacifist plays.

After forty minutes of business, chiefly concerned with forthcoming events, the first play was put on. *The Pacifist* is a poor play, badly written, with no good lines, and therefore difficult to get across. It speaks well for the heroism of the all-woman cast that they carried it off as well as they did. No professionals could have succeeded where they failed.

This was followed by *Michael*, an adaptation from Tolstoy's famous story, which from the first minute held the audience. Acting, dressing, and production of this second show were excellent and the evening ended with a frank discussion by the audience.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

FOR fear anyone should imagine that we are harbouring here a nest of little prigs, it is proposed to devote this article to an all too brief study of angry passions, crime and punishment at Basque House.

In some quarters when one confesses that one is working with the Basque Children, the first enquiry is, "Have you had any trouble with them?" None of our children have yet chased the cook with a carving-knife, but we have had our little spots of trouble.

There was that little encounter between Juanita and Natie when one of them stole the other's flat-iron to iron a blouse with. It went no further than words, but such a high-speed, white-hot succession of words as arrested the very blood in one's veins.

Eight-year-old Eloy was perhaps our first "criminal." He found that by rolling on the ground and screaming in a manner far out of proportion to any misfortune he might have suffered, he gained most gratifying solicitude from too tender-hearted grown-ups. Then we discovered the catch.

Moreover, a mirror, some four feet by three, fell on his head, and this, while failing to do him serious injury, gained for him all the special sympathy he could wish for, and now he is, to use the word of one of the Spanish teachers, a "noble little soul."

Sin postre was for a time a popular form of punishment with the Spanish staff, but fortunately it has died out. It looks as though it might mean "bend over," the "posture" consequent upon "sin," but means in fact, "no pudding." Docking pocket money was another such punishment. The fine money was saved up and used toward a bean-feast for everybody.

What more? The boys have on occasion gone for a cycle ride without permission. A new boy from another colony stole some paint brushes from the barn and was brought to judgment by a jury of his fellows. Luis played at knife-throwing against a cupboard door. And with these, the worst is told.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

P.P.U. Members on

A World Conference

In Mr. Chamberlain's speech there occurs the following passage:—

His Majesty's Government would warmly welcome the assembly of any conference at which it might be expected that all European nations would consent to be represented and at which it might therefore be found possible to discuss matters in regard to which anxiety is at present felt.

I am quite sure that the majority of people in Great Britain—whether pacifists or not—believe that this country should itself initiate the calling of a World Conference with a view to discussing grievances of all kinds. Moreover, that we should go to the conference prepared to say—not what others should do—but what we ourselves are prepared to do in helping to alleviate the tension in the world today.

I therefore suggest that the PPU should make plans for a ballot on the lines of the one run by the League of Nations Union which certainly had an effect on official opinion. The organization would require care and perhaps a small area of the country could be tried out first.

I am not sure about the questions, but perhaps something after the style of the following would be suitable:—

1. Do you think Britain should call a World Conference to discuss grievances?

2. Do you believe that we should not try to find out what others are going to do before we commit ourselves, but rather be prepared to state quite frankly what sacrifices we as a country are prepared to make?

3. Would you agree to the relaxation of tariff barriers?

4. Would you agree to the relaxation of immigration restrictions?

5. Would you agree to putting colonial territories under an international mandate to be run for the benefit of the peoples concerned?

6. Would you think a sacrifice in your standard of living better worth while for this purpose than for armaments?

I hope this suggestion will be seriously discussed.

(Mrs.) FLORENCE BURN.

241, Victoria Avenue, Hull.

SUPPORT FOR ARP SUGGESTION

Another member has offered to support the plan suggested by Mr. George J. D. Chilvers in our March 19 issue.

To recruit a number of single men who are willing to work for the cause—men who have given up their jobs rather than be coerced into ARP—pay them enough to keep them and their dependants, and organize them to go wherever ARP is being boosted, to carry out intensive propaganda that cannot be carried out adequately by ordinary group work.

Facts and Figures

THE following facts and figures were given at the annual general meeting of the PPU during the weekend:—

MEMBERSHIP

Canon Morris announced a "real, live membership" of 117,000. This figure does not include "block" membership of some Women's Cooperative Guilds. About 1,000 recruits are joining the PPU every month, and there has never yet been a day without a new member joining.

GROUPS

John Barclay gave the following figures of growth:

September, 1936	...	...	183
November	...	...	253
December	...	...	310
January, 1937	...	...	350
March	...	...	442
August	...	...	602
September	...	...	664
October	...	...	715
March	...	...	810

FILM SHOWS

Since last September, according to Nigel Spottiswoode, 87 film shows have been held by groups. It is estimated that the total attendance at these shows was 17,668.

LITERATURE

Nigel Spottiswoode also gave the following figures showing the great quantity of literature that had left Headquarters since May, 1937:

Books (1s. to 8s. 6d.)	...	2,034
Posters	...	8,635
Pamphlets (1d. to 6d.)	...	73,226
Free Literature	...	1,746,380
(i.e., free to public but costing groups from 4s. to 10s. per 1,000)		

"PEACE NEWS"

August, 1936	...	1,500
October	...	6,000
October, 1937	...	12,000
November	...	15,000
March 5, 1938	...	17,000

News from the Four Corners

EAST

A new PPU group has just been formed at **Dereham**. Selling of **PEACE NEWS** has been intensified. News comes of the first meeting of **Norfolk Regional Committee** at which ten delegates were present. It was resolved to attempt the formation of eight or nine new groups immediately.

HOME COUNTIES

Harry Hunt, of Thornton Heath, communicates a few great thoughts from Commander Hodsall who addressed a meeting at **Croydon** recently. He emphasized "the wonderful social side of ARP. He told the audience he had been to several ARP dances and whist-drives; he even said he had been to an ARP tripe party." No questions were permitted at this meeting, but the PPU did yeoman work distributing nearly 5,000 leaflets, selling **PEACE NEWS** and advertising a PPU public meeting. The local ARP officer is to be challenged to a public debate in the near future and the new manifesto is to be posted on hoardings all over the district.

Full details of the Easter Pilgrimage to **Canterbury** have been received and are published elsewhere on this page.

An enthusiastic discussion followed the first public meeting of the PPU in **Hoddesdon**. Two people made their protests against the views of the speaker, Dr. Alex Wood, and then left the room. Dr. Wood spoke on "Pacifism and Practical Politics," and emphasized the need to think our way through the practical issues of pacifism.

Threequarters of an hour after the close of a PPU meeting at **Reading** the local air raid warden was still arguing with members of the audience on the steps of the Town Hall. The meeting had been addressed by Mr. L. P. Banfield, president-elect of the Oxford University Pacifist Association, who pleaded for pacifism as a strictly rational and logical point of view. Robert O. Mennell, who also spoke, condemned

armaments as a sign of "nerves."

At another meeting, organized by the **Reading** branch of the FoR, Mr. Percy Bartlett gave an account of his journeys to European rulers in company with George Lansbury. He emphasized the necessity for negotiations to be carried on in a similar spirit.

A **South Essex** Regional Committee has now been formed and all signatories in the area are invited to communicate with the chairman, Mr. S. J. Hart, 472, Green Lane, Seven Kings, Essex. A meeting is to be held on April 27.

LONDON

PPU, FoR, Methodist Peace Fellowship, Friends and other pacifists have combined to organize an important public meeting at the East End Mission, Commercial Road, **London, E.1**, April 25, at 8.15 p.m. George Lansbury and Father Andrew will speak on "The Alternative to War." A poster parade to advertise this meeting will be held on April 23, starting from 2, Portland Street, Commercial Road, **E.1**, at 5.30 p.m., and volunteers would be welcomed.

MIDLANDS

Members at **Northfield, Birmingham**, turned an empty shop lent by the Cooperative Society into an effective peace shop recently.

Captain R. L. Agnew, prospective National Government candidate for the **Nuneaton** division, speaking at **Hartshill** Conservative Club, said, "I am quite convinced that the young men of this country . . . will simply say, 'England is at war so we are off to fight.'" Four members of the **Nuneaton** branch of the PPU had letters published in *The Observer* replying to the statement.

NORTH-EAST

Canon Morris, Miss Mary Gamble, and the Marquis of Tavistock were the speakers at a recent meeting at **Hull**. Canon Morris outlined the pacifist

policy which, he said, could be put into practice tomorrow. Miss Gamble emphasized that it was women who shaped warlike or peaceful opinion, and Lord Tavistock outlined the "sub-Christian" financial organization which leads to war.

NORTH-WEST

Mr. Cowan, **Fallowfield** (Manchester) group leader recently conducted a "Why I am a Pacifist" symposium which occupied two group meetings. Each member spoke for at least ten minutes giving religious, philosophical, and sociological reasons for their pacifism. This experiment was a huge success largely because though each member approached the subject differently, there was behind all these differences a strong verifying identity of purpose and ideals.

SOUTH

Carloads of supporters from **Southampton** and **Alton** joined with the **Portsmouth** PPU in an effective poster parade protesting against the Hampshire blackout recently. Enthusiastic cooperation seems to be a feature of PPU activities in this county, largely owing to the magnificent work of Mr. Hope Gill.

In the North Hampshire region groups are organizing a series of meetings addressed by visiting PPU members who are thus gaining in several cases their first experience of public speaking. Nigel Spottiswoode, from **H.Q.**, spoke at a public meeting held by the **Winchester** group last week. This has been followed by meetings at **Fareham, Romsey** and **Four Marks**.

SOUTH-EAST

John Barclay and Roy Walker were the speakers at a successful public meeting at **Swanscombe**, where criticism of ARP was followed by an outline of the pacifist alternative to war. An interesting discussion ensued in which a member of the **RAF** took part.

WALES

Mr. R. E. Holland, of **Dolwyddelan**, a member of the **Caernarvonshire** County Council, and chairman of the local PPU group, is doing great work in many

directions. He objected at the monthly meeting of the **Nant Conway Rural Council** to the council being represented on a committee formed to encourage recruiting for the Territorial Army. As a result the council unanimously decided to delete from the previous month's minutes the references to the recruiting committee.

WEST

Many signatories in and around **Worcester** have not yet linked up with the active group work of the district and a film show, a debate and a meeting for discussion are features of a campaign for more support. Further information can be obtained from Mr. J. R. Jenkins, **Oldbury Grange**, near **Worcester**.

EASTER PILGRIMAGE TO CANTERBURY

Quite a number of people have expressed their desire to visit **Dick Sheppard's** resting place at **Canterbury**. Accordingly, a four-day hike, from April 15 to 18, has been arranged, and **Eric T. Roach**, 60 Belvedere Road **Bexleyheath**, would be glad to have the names and addresses of those who can fit in with the arrangements, together with details of when and where they will join the party. It is hoped that many will gather at **Canterbury** on Sunday; they will make their own arrangements.

The main party will meet at **Victoria Station** (outside main-line booking office) at 8.15 on Friday morning. Book period return to **Lenham** (8s. 11d.) Note: Ramblers not using train please meet at **Lenham Station** at 10 a.m. (eight miles from **Maidstone**—on bus route—train 9.37 a.m.).

The Pilgrimage will then proceed along the **Pilgrim's Way**, stopping at **Charing** for lunch and **Ashford** for the night. Walking distance about fifteen miles.

The Pilgrimage will continue on Saturday leaving **Ashford** (Town Hall, High Street) at 9.30 a.m., and walk the seventeen miles to **Canterbury**. Lunch and tea on the way. The night will be spent at **Canterbury**.

Sunday morning will be free. It will, however, include, for those who wish, a visit to **Dick Sheppard's** resting place. The afternoon will be devoted to running a public meeting, while the evening will be free. The night will be spent at **Canterbury**.

The return party on Monday will leave **Canterbury** at 10.30 a.m. to catch trains from **Faversham** for **London** 5.19 p.m. or 6.3 p.m. to arrive at 6.47 p.m. or 7.32 p.m. respectively. The fare will be 6d. excess on the return half from **Lenham**.

The approximate cost for the whole time, including fares, etc., is estimated at about 30s. The arrangements are provisional, and therefore subject to suggestion and alteration.

The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1

"THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW"

APRIL 9th, 1938

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Spanish Church Politics

WHEN John Langdon-Davies included in his book, *Behind the Spanish Barricades*, a citation from a Catholic catechism in which the faithful in Spain were told that it is "usually mortal sin" to vote liberal, this quotation was greeted by many with honest incredulity. Thereupon, the author decided to secure this catechism, which he had cited on the authority of Ralph Bates.

During his next stay in Barcelona he combed the old bookshops, but eight air raids in six days made his task difficult. He did not succeed in finding the catechism mentioned by Bates, but he did discover another entitled, *Brief and Simple Explanation of the Catholic Catechism*, by R. P. Angel Maria de Arcos, S.J., of which, according to the preface in the third edition, hundreds of thousands of copies were sold.

From this catechism Langdon-Davies cites the following pertinent quotations (page 404):

Is every Liberal Government hostile to the Church?—Evidently, since whoever is not with Christ is against him.

How do those sin who, with their vote or influence, help the triumph of a candidate hostile to the Church?—Usually mortally; they are accomplices in the wicked laws contrary to the Church, voted by their candidates.

On another page (page 400) is this further elaboration:

What are liberal principles?—Those of 1789: so-called national sovereignty, freedom of religious cults, freedom of the press, freedom of instruction, universal morality, and other such.

What consequences result from these?—Secular schools, impious and immodest periodicals, civil marriage, heretical churches in Catholic countries, abolition of ecclesiastical immunities, &c.

(No frontier News Service).

Here's the Answer

WAR IS NOT A LAW OF NATURE

That "war is a law of nature" is one of the most common objections to pacifism.

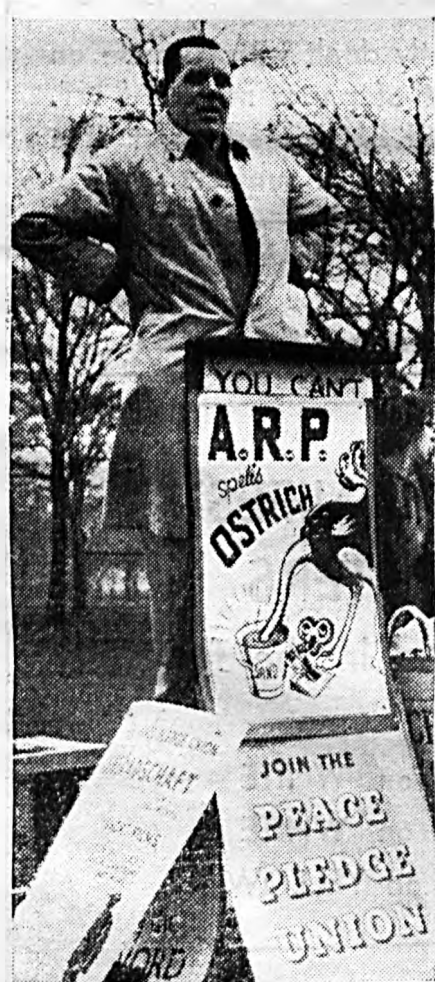
The question is effectively dealt with by Aldous Huxley in his pamphlet: *What are you going to do about it?* (Chatto and Windus, 3d.), from which the following points are taken:

Conflict is common in the animal kingdom, but it is almost entirely between isolated individuals;

"War" in the sense of conflict between armies exists among certain species of social insects, but these insects only make war on members of other species, not on those of their own;

Man is probably unique in making war on his own species.

War is definitely not a "law of nature."



The season for open-air meetings is here again. At one such meeting, on Clapham Common, one of the latest Peace Pledge Union posters was in evidence

The New Patriotism —and the Choice which faces men today

ONE may be convinced of the stupidity, the wasteful futility, even of the wickedness of war, but the strongest objection to pacifism remains yet untouched—the strongest objection, because the most tangible one, and therefore the hardest one to discuss: the ideal which men call *esprit-de-corps*.

One may make a case against war from every reasonable standpoint—moral, economic, expedient—but, people argue, suppose war comes, and all one's friends are thronging the recruiting offices, does not honour demand, imperatively, that one should go?

Not that one hopes to gain anything for one-self, nor even for one's country; not that one believes any longer in war as a just means of settling disputes; not that one approves any longer of war in principle; but here are one's comrades, laying down their lives; how can one stand aloof in priggish disapproval?

You may, or may not, think that war is a fool's game—granted, but (the argument runs) it is a game—a great adventure, a great purpose in life. Besides (more cynically) it is better to march away, with flags flying and drums beating, than be gassed in a conchy prison, if one must die. You can't stop the war by staying out of it.

Can't you? Is it so certain that war would be inevitable if all the young men of military age refused to take part in it? "No," you say, "but not all the young men will refuse—only a despicable minority."

Quite; and so long as men act on that reasoning, so long will the minority remain despicable, at any rate in numbers. So long as you continue to swell the ranks of the majority, you are helping to put off the day when war shall be, by common consent, impossible. In other words, you are helping to send those, your comrades—the great majority—into the holocaust, with yourself.

★ ★

LET us be quite clear about this *esprit-de-corps* business. It is a heroic thing to share the sufferings of your fellows, but by preventing those sufferings you are doing them greater service.

It is a fine and manly thing to face death in a great cause; it is not quite so fine and manly to inflict it on the innocent. For that is what modern warfare means—no longer a trial of strength between two armies, but the mass murder of civilians.

You have no longer the satisfaction of saving your country. You say, of course, that your country would never start aerial warfare. Everyone says that. Even Mussolini was saying it, ten years ago.

If, in your case, it happens to be true, then by the time you get going (if ever you have the chance) the damage will have been done; it will be too late to save your country, and all you can do is to retaliate by destroying someone else's.

If, on the other hand, your country does start the bombardment, it *ipso facto* invites and, indeed, practically ensures, retaliation. You are making it quite certain that the enemy, what is left of him, will bomb the country which you are supposed to be saving.

Is this really what you mean by *esprit-de-corps*?

★ ★

THE fact is that we have not fully grasped what modern warfare involves. We still speak as if war could



In prison for refusing to fight . . . like many another "crank" who has changed the face of the world

be carried on in a respectable manner, according to the old rules; as though it were rather like a game of Rugby, or, possibly, a stag-hunt, with a certain amount of extra danger thrown in, to make it more exciting.

Warfare has been revolutionized during the last thirty years. To talk about protecting England by arms in these times is sheer sentimentalism, completely ignoring the fact that no bloodless conquest could possibly destroy England, physically and spiritually, half so thoroughly as war—even a war in which England might be judged the victor.

"Dishonour" in some sense, faces you either way. You have to choose between the dishonour of lending your aid to an undertaking which involves the murder of the innocent and the destruction of all that past generations have laboured to build, all that we mean, by civilization—or the dishonour of standing aside while your comrades do these things.

Only, in the one case you will be called a hero and in the other you will be reviled as a skunk. You may march with the band, amid the cheers of the crowd, or you may go to prison, like many another "crank" who has changed the world—conscious of the world's contempt. It is for you to decide which is the more truly heroic course.

J. M.

What War Means

HATE-MONGERING AT HOME

Judging from the following extract taken from a letter to the editor of a well-known daily paper and printed on January 2, 1918, it would appear that the war in Flanders was fought with just a little less ferocity than at home on the printing press:

I have been told that our men in France are immensely amused when the captured Germans come in with their watch in one hand and their cigarette case in the other, offering them to all and sundry.

They do not appear to grasp the fact that these blackguards behave like this because they are in the liveliest terror of being murdered as they have murdered British prisoners.

The Bavarians in particular, if Bavarians are to be believed, sharpen their entrenching tools and use them to split open the skulls of British prisoners.

The leading article of another paper on August 7, 1916, runs:

As for the bayonet, the German soldier never stands up against it. He calls it "The English Terror." He simply drops on his knees, and with cries of "Kamerad! Kamerad!" begs piteously for mercy.

I never was a good patriot in the sense of thinking that my mother and my sister and my native country were better than other people's because I happened to belong to them.—Bernard Shaw—*The Irrational Knot*.

THERE ARE TIMES WHEN

Intelligent Citizens Should Revolt

says

W. P. RAWLINSON

THE true pacifist, convinced that no law should be obeyed which commands something wrong, is essentially revolutionary. He judges the commands of any worldly authority and accepts them if they are not contrary to ordinary righteousness or the will of God, but rejects them if they are.

The average peace-lover (and this class includes most people today) may use every legal means to keep his country out of war but, such efforts failing, joins, with what he feels to be patriotism, in the war programme. He may avoid work in munition factories and dodge military training in time of peace, but if he cannot escape "honourably," he will accept.

* * *

After the United States' entry into the World War those legislators who had opposed it quickly came over to the side of the war-mad majority (or what seemed, from the hue and cry, to be a majority) and "stood by the President."

The average peace-lover, in short, goes by the rules of the game in his country and, if wickedness becomes leader, follows the leader rather than break the rules. "My country, right or wrong!" sums up the uncritical loyalty to the State which governs the masses of people today.

* * *

It must be noticed at once that such loyalty is really fanatical. There is no human being or human institution worthy of blind trust in all matters; the divine rights of the State should follow into obscurity the ancient doctrine of the divine right of kings.

No-one should offer up to any government the sacrifices demanded by the leaders of modern nations or, rather, the militarist element among those leaders. To pander to that demand is to ruin the State and eventually destroy civilization, which is based necessarily upon sound loyalties, not false.

* * *

The militarist ideal would compel a sailor to obey a command to sink the ship, or a soldier an order to march to death over the top of a cliff. By the pacifist conception of loyalty, the true soldier is not afraid to disobey when disobedience is demanded by sanity, higher authority, decency or the will of God.

The disobedient soldier trusts that higher authority will justify and commend his temporary disaffection. The true pacifist, to save his nation, is not afraid to disregard laws which command him to do immoral and insane things.

War being immoral and insane and contrary to the interests of the State, the pacifist trusts in God and in the verdict of coming generations, who will inherit the earth and its civilization, to uphold revolutionary pacifism, justifying his conduct and profiting by his unselfish labours.

* * *

Those who blindly give allegiance to any worldly authority, handing over their reason and their conscience as if the authority in question were God incarnate—such people are the real enemies of the State.

Pacifists see laws and institutions as merely human laws and institutions, not divine except in particulars wherein they exhibit divinity; wherever they depart, intelligent citizens should rebel, for the sake of those ends to which human laws and institutions are a means.

No government or society is sound without this element of revolutionism. Almost every modern State has had its origin in revolution.

Speaking Personally

WHITHER FASCISM?

3. Will the Unexpected Continue?

WE have traced some of the unexpected course traversed by German Nazism during the last four or five years. But what of the future? Is that course likely to continue?

Frankly, I think it is. The fact that Germany in her present impoverished condition has challenged the unjust economic situation among the Powers by embarking upon a policy of territorial expansion is proof, especially after her experience with her own capitalists, that to achieve success it will be necessary to extend the State control of the nation's economic and financial resources.

The February revolt proved conclusively that capitalism is incompatible with national, economic planning. It thus played completely into the hands of the Nazi leaders by giving them an admirable excuse for tightening their grip on the nation's industrial machine.

Also, it gave them what they had for long wanted—control of the pre-Nazi army, the Reichswehr, whose rebellious officers, belonging as they did to the old German aristocracy, were still partial to the monarchical system, and looked with disfavour on many aspects of Nazi rule, as, for example, its attitude to Christianity and the Church.

As a result, the Nazi regime is more strongly entrenched today than it has ever been.

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SO far as one can see, events in Germany will tend to increase rather than remove the opposition of the industrialists to the Nazi policy.

That opposition springs from a clear recognition that the fulfilment of the

—Susan Miles—

will be the next writer under this heading. Her series of three articles will begin

—Next Week—

Nazi purpose is likely to end in almost complete State control of industry, and in the conscription of wealth. Since Germany is unable to borrow money abroad, or to sell her goods in the foreign market in order to buy necessary raw materials, confiscation and the State control of the entire economic resources of the country would appear to be probable, if not inevitable.

The methods of confiscation are numerous. The Nazi leaders are leaving the owners of industry in nominal possession of their property, but gradually increasing their control of it, while they draw off more and more of its profits in all manner of subtle ways.

Having bled the workers as much as they dare, the Nazi leaders have no alternative to the confiscation of private wealth if they are to fulfil their purpose.

Thus savings, bank deposits, &c., are also in jeopardy. As it is illegal to send money out of the country, and as industry is coming more and more under State control, investors have scarcely any option but to lend their money to the State. It is obvious, therefore, that should the need arise the State will not hesitate to commandeer private savings.

By

WILFRED WELLOCK

In view of the prospects in Europe, it is very unlikely that these loans would ever be repaid. As G. D. H. Cole puts it in *Economic Prospects: 1938 and After*:

German capitalists would much sooner lend their money to the State than not lend it at all. They cannot, without breaking the law—and not at all easily even so, in view of the tight State control over the banks and the supply of foreign exchange—remove their money abroad. They must use it in Germany; and that means, for the most part, using it as the Nazis wish—in such ways as will fit in with Nazi economic-military plans.

This policy, Cole later says, will involve "piling up against the future a mass of public indebtedness which is most unlikely ever to be paid off."

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IT is quite clear, therefore, that the anticipations of German capitalists when they decided to back Hitler in 1933 have not been fulfilled, and that they are in a cleft stick from which they are unable to extricate themselves.

They must accept the present regime, with all the terrors it may still have in store for them, or face revolution and a communist dictatorship. With the latter threat Hitler and Goering are able to keep the capitalists quiet.

G. D. H. Cole puts the matter thus:

Naturally, the German capitalists would much sooner be free of the regimentation imposed on them by the corporative State. But they would also much sooner accept this regimentation than run the risk of a return to socialism, or a possible socialist revolution.

Evelyn Lend says:

But today the bourgeois class is much more tied to fascism than ever it was to absolutism. Its fear of provoking a military working-class movement by its own opposition to the fascist regime has become infinitely stronger since the victory of the Russian revolution.

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ALTHOUGH fascism is so new in the world, and although we know so little about its real purpose, certain tendencies seem inseparable from it, as a study of Italy and Japan also proves.

On March 11 the *Manchester Guardian* contained the following remarkable passage in its leading article on "Japan at War":

Big business, which in the past has tended to support the militarists as the best guarantee against radical reform, is beginning to realize its mistake.

Not only have the militarists complete contempt for economic theory but (far worse) they have no respect for business; as in Germany and Italy so in Japan, the rich are discovering that fascism, if truly "the last refuge of capitalism" is but a precarious one.

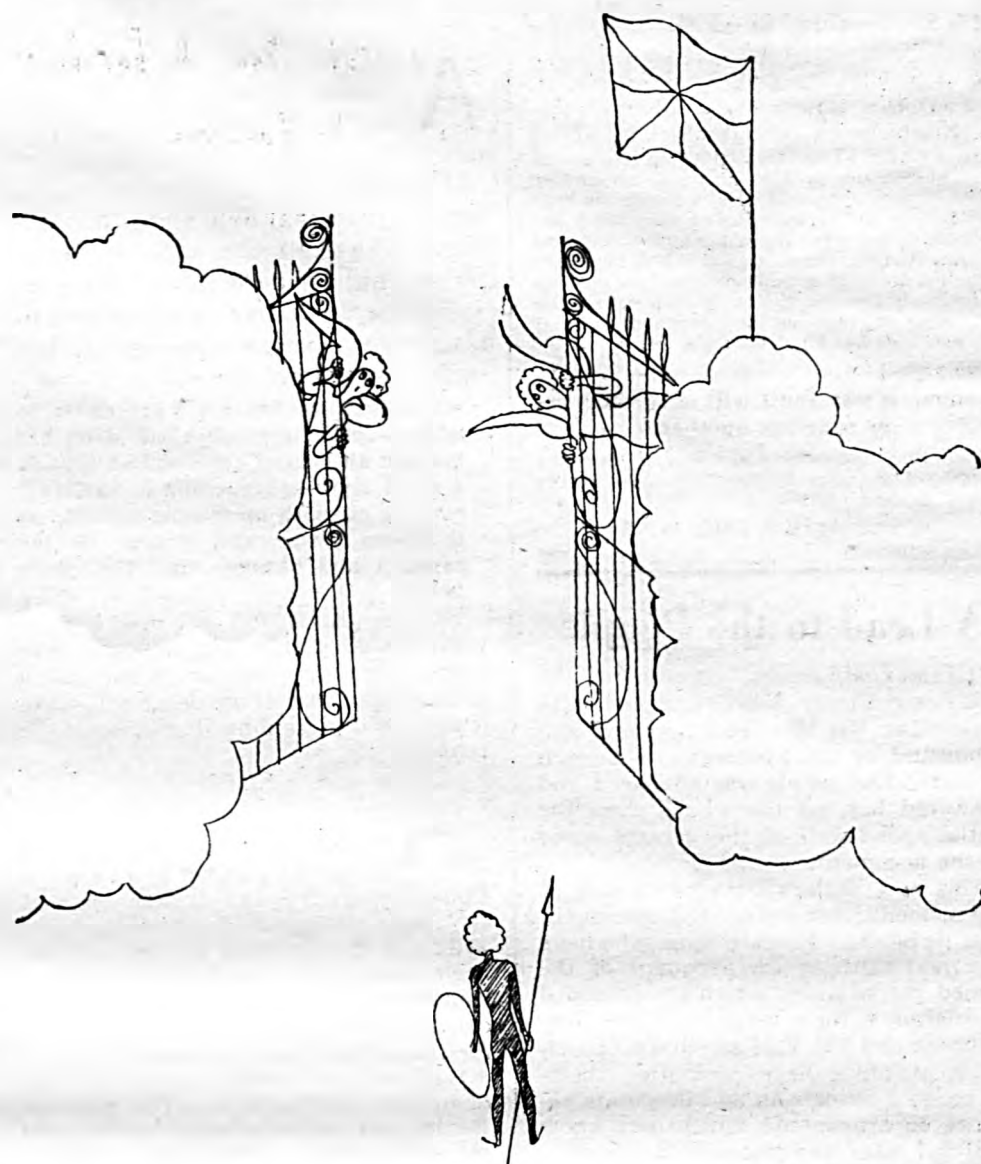
In these circumstances, it seems more than likely, despite the fear of communism, that at some point in the process of being squeezed out of existence, the capitalists will unite with other elements of discontent and organize a movement of revolt.

Should that happen, or should the threat or fear of it grow, what will the Nazi leaders do? Against them already are the ex-army generals, the big landlords and the big industrialists, large sections of the Church, both evangelical and Catholic, not to mention the pacifists, the Jews, and the various sections of the Left.

Obviously, the Nazi regime cannot endure without the backing of a considerable section of the public. Where,

"Angels Unite"—6

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



"Gosh!—A dirty foreigner!"

then, will it find that backing if the hostility of the Right continues to grow? Is it too much to imagine that Hitler and Goering may be driven to seek the support of the Left, and make the sacrifice of capitalist wealth and property the price of that support?

Stranger things have happened. It is a common saying that extremes meet; and it is true. They meet because common methods tend to lead to common ends. Means do determine ends.

Besides, do not recent tendencies in Russia, the mass trials and shootings of so-called renegades, one-time leaders of revolutionary Russia, indicate that the small group of people in whom the might of the State rests are prepared to keep that power at all costs, even at the price of supporting a huge official class which might tend to become a new order of bourgeoisie? Indeed such a class is in process of formation in Russia and in every fascist State today—a tremendously important fact.

According to the *Manchester Guardian*, Sir Stafford Cripps, at a meeting in Manchester on February 20, "pointed to the danger that Russia might be driven into an alliance with Germany." I wonder what Sir Stafford had in mind, and whether these two countries are not far more likely to be drawn together by common aims and common enemies?

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IN the meantime, in Germany and elsewhere, fascism will be called upon to undergo a far severer test.

So far, its only ideal has been that of the powerful State, whose citizens are cyphers, with no value in and for themselves, but only for the State. As E. A. Mowrer says in *Germany Puts the Clock Back*:

Clever fascists realized that the important thing in Russia was not the aim but the technique. Here finally was the weapon to produce and maintain a society with all the effective cohesion of the ant-hill, and direct it to any aim one might choose.

At the moment, all the fascist States are engrossed in the task of creating vast political and military power and extending their dominion. In due course they will reach the limits of their

ability to conquer and to rule. Then what will they do? No-one knows.

The fascist leaders are power fanatics, not social idealists. Their only ideals concern abstractions of the State, not the content of individual experience. Yet it is by the test of that content that fascism will ultimately stand or fall.

Every social system which fails to satisfy the deeper instincts and aspirations of the human soul is destined to perish. A State has no *raison d'être*, no justification, if it cannot increase the quality of individual life and the richness of human experience. As E. A. Mowrer puts it:

The problem of Germany, which had become the problem of fascism, could in the long run be solved only by a renewal of the belief in universal values.

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WHEN, and by what means the spiritual bankruptcy of fascism will be made manifest it is not possible to say. But of this I am convinced, that the sooner fascism is put to the test of constructive social effort by the receipt of full justice from the have Powers, the better it will be for the whole world.

When fascism is called upon to give its people not "victories," but "a more abundant life," it will collapse.

In the meantime, even capitalism may learn its lesson. Ere long I think it will be driven to the following conclusions:

1. That capitalism attains its maximum power under democracy;
2. That capitalism should endeavour to preserve democracy wherever it exists;
3. That in order to preserve democracy capitalism should undertake large-scale national economic planning, to secure control of which it should give further social benefits to the workers, such as shorter working hours, better old-age pensions, holidays with pay, &c.;
4. That if need be it were better to accept a considerable measure of socialism (provided it were accompanied with reasonable compensation) than resort to fascism, and
5. That resort to fascism should only take place as a last resort, and as the only way of escape from communism.

I am convinced that the tendencies above indicated are destined to exercise an enormous influence on the course of world events, for which reason they demand our earnest consideration.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement
Offices:

17, Featherstone Buildings, London,
W.C.1.

Telephone: Holborn 8627.

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 3s. 3d. Yearly: 12s. 6d.
THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:-

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

April 9, 1938.

A Lead to the People

THE annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union accepted with enthusiasm the Manifesto prepared and submitted by the Sponsors. Criticism on individual points was advanced and answered but, on the whole, even the critics spoke well of the general tenor of the document.

This new declaration appears just at the moment when public disillusionment is at its height. Few are those who have any real faith in the adequacy of the armed preparations which are intended to guarantee their security. The Government and the Parliamentary oppositions, all alike, have committed themselves to a despairing and desperate reliance on armaments, which they know will fail when the test comes.

What an opportunity for service thus awaits us!

The people can be prevailed upon now, as never before, to accept a new and better gospel. Politicians may yet learn to thank us that we held a lamp unto their feet when they had none of their own with which to offer the people guidance.

By their manifesto pacifists reaffirm the pledge Dick Sheppard taught them. More than that, they mark out the beginnings of the positive path to a life lived within the community to which that pledge commits them. Pacifists cannot take their stand against participation in war and remain quiescent while a national policy is pursued out of which war becomes inevitable. They may seek to put all the blame on the Government. Much of it rests there, undoubtedly. But in a democracy like that of Britain, we are all of us ultimately the Government. *L'etat, c'est moi.*

Although each may say he counts but little midst the millions, yet 120,000 members of the Peace Pledge Union, with zeal and faith, influencing each his own circle, could arrest the drift of the nation toward war.

Can we convince the people that armaments will get them nowhere? Of course we can: they are about convinced of that already. Can we persuade the people that we ought not to stick to advantages we cannot use when others need them: can we, all nations acting altogether, arrange for the provision to meet the economic needs of the hungry and oppressed in every land? Again, of course, we can: there is a stratum of decency in everyone.

Then let us get on with the job. In all their groups, let pacifists agree and determine, wherever there is a body of people, small or large, capable of being persuaded, to try and persuade them to support this manifesto. Some at least should be asked to take the peace pledge, and join the Union. There is hardly an organization today which would dare to claim that the issues of world peace were none of its concern. Each group, through some of its members at least (all of them, if possible—why not?) made expert by the study of the literature the PPU is publishing, ought to be able to put the case for the Manifesto in many different bodies. These, for example, will include the churches, the Liberal and Labour Parties (the conservatives and communists too, if they would hear) the trade unions and professional organizations, the LNU, the organizations of women, the cooperative movement and its auxiliaries.

A carefully drafted letter should go

The DRIVE to CONSCRIPTION

By
HAROLD F. BING

A FEW weeks ago one might have talked about the drift to conscription; but drift is now far too weak a term to employ.

Helped by the pace of events in the international field, new face has been added to the arguments of those who, for a variety of reasons, selfish or otherwise, are anxious to fasten the chains of conscription upon this nation.

The drift has become a drive. Or, to adopt another metaphor, the drift has become an urgent current like that of a great river approaching a waterfall, rushing on with increasing rapidity as it draws nearer and nearer to the cataract and plunges into the abyss below.

Perhaps it is not yet too late to prevent that plunge, but we must take warning that the current is increasing in speed and that every delay will make it more and more difficult to change the course.

I HAVE before me as I write a pamphlet entitled *The Case for Conscription* by a writer named Germain. It appeared originally as an article in *The National Review* and has been reprinted in pamphlet form, presumably with a view to its further circulation and to increasing the demand for conscription in this country.

But it is not merely from periodicals of limited circulation like *The National Review* that we hear today the demand for conscription. The same voice is being heard with growing insistence in the columns of *The Times* and other great newspapers.

The arguments used are reminiscent of those which we heard in Lord Roberts's campaign for conscription before the last war. There is a familiarity about them all.

At the same time one must recognize that from a purely military point of view, there is a much stronger case for conscription today than there was then. If the League of Nations had succeeded in bringing about a general reduction of armaments the case might be different. But that "if" seems to be now a thing of the past, and in any case military calculations cannot wait upon such doubtful contingencies.

The essentials of the position are that every other great Power has conscription and most of the smaller Powers have too; and that, owing to the speeding up of warfare, as of everything else in this mechanized world, there will be no interval of years or even months after the outbreak of the next "war to end war" during which civilian armies can be trained and transported to the scene of the struggle.

Victory may well be to the Power that can strike first and strike hardest.

THERE is, of course, nothing new in all this. If you accept the possibility of war, you must logically accept preparation for it, and inadequate preparation is clearly worthless.

In these days of totalitarian States and totalitarian warfare, every State which envisages war must be prepared to accept all that this implies.

It is interesting, however, to note the subtlety and yet the sameness of the methods of today and those of twenty odd years ago.

In 1915 we had a National Registration Act which we were assured was not a prelude to conscription. Men were

from each group to these bodies, or, better still, a deputation should wait on their secretaries and presidents, asking for the opportunity to expound the Manifesto at the meetings of these various societies. Where success attends these efforts, discussions will get reported in the local press, new members will be discovered and resolutions of support will begin to find their way to the national headquarters and annual conferences of the various bodies influenced.

Too long have we left politics to be devilled the nation with the fear of war. Too long has the consciousness of helplessness under arms prevailed. Here is our opportunity. Let us take it with both hands.

asked to enlist voluntarily in order to prevent the necessity of conscription.

They were urged to enrol under the so-called "Derby Scheme," and did so hoping that they would thereby not be needed for war service. Employers compelled their young men to enlist under threat of dismissal.

All this steadily prepared the way for conscription and indeed strengthened the demand for it.

The same thing is happening today, with the exception that it is happening now in so-called peace-time. Powerful voices in *The Times* are demanding a system of national registration. There is a call for a million ARP volunteers, who, once enrolled, will in fact be as good as under military orders at the slightest threat of emergency. In some firms employees are already being threatened with dismissal if they do not join the territorials.

IT is true that the Government still declares its unwillingness to impose conscription. But experience has taught us the value of Government promises in such matters and has not the Prime Minister stated:

I am confident that we shall be supported in asking that no-one shall regard himself as being excluded from any extension of the national effort which may be called for.

I do not quite know what will be the difference in practice between this and universal compulsory service.

It is very reminiscent of the Military Service Act of 1916 by which scheme we were all "deemed to be enlisted."

Apparently those in authority have decided that conscription has an unpleasant sound in English ears and so it is to be called "an extension of the national effort," or "democratic compulsion" (e.g., Rear-Admiral Beamish's statement that he believed the public was prepared to accept compulsion so long as it was democratic and admitted of no exceptions).

Under the threat of war Britain is becoming more and more a totalitarian State. The

—Another Sponsor—

Captain Philip Mumford

will write in PEACE NEWS

—next week—

idea of a war to defend democracy or to oppose fascism is becoming, even in advance, more and more a snare and a delusion.

Before long the only difference between "democratic" and "totalitarian" States will be that in the former you have butter on the pill (butter seems to be replacing jam in the current political phraseology!) and in the latter you do not.

THIS question of conscription, however, has more than military significance.

It may be argued that those who accept the ultimate necessity of war must logically accept conscription, while those who are opposed to war in any circumstances will equally logically be opposed to it. But there are political, industrial, and psychological aspects to be considered.

Politically, conscription makes war more certain. Quite apart from its being regarded as a threat by other countries, it creates an acceptance of war in this country and makes resistance to war policies much more difficult.

With the acceptance of military training, and authority whether it be in the regular forces, in territorials or reserves, or in the more disguised form of ARP corps, comes the acceptance of orders from above and the surrender of the independent judgment of the citizen.

Those who are under the control of the government cannot be the masters of the government's policy. Government policy thus tends to become more and more irresponsible.

A government which knows that it has the whole resources of the nation trained and mobilized at its back is more likely to use the

threat of war in its international dealings, and thus conscription may precipitate the war which it was presumably intended to prevent.

CONSCRIPTION is the deadly enemy of industrial freedom.

In neighbour countries we have on more than one occasion seen a strike about wages and conditions settled by calling the strikers of military age to the colours and ordering them as soldiers to run the trains or other services on pain of the severest penalties for disobeying military orders. A conscript has no liberty whatsoever.

As part of the present drive toward war, the Government is asking the trade unions to relax some of the regulations which, as a result of long years of struggle, they have won in order to protect their members against exploitation.

It is said to be temporary, to meet the present emergency. The same promises were made in the last war. They were not kept then and are not likely to be kept now.

Why should "dilution" be necessary when there are thousands of engineers unemployed? Clearly the war situation is being used for an attack on industrial conditions as well as on political freedom.

THE late Brigadier-General Crozier used to say that he did not think a British expeditionary force would ever again cross the channel: the development of aircraft made it quite impossible.

I do not think the Army Council shares that view, or we should probably have heard more about the advantages of a Channel tunnel.

But there is much truth in the conclusion which the old general drew from his premise; and that was, that

one of the chief motives behind the campaign for conscription was to have everybody under orders so as to check the probable breakdown of civilian morale under persistent air attack, and to be able to use military methods of repressing social and political discontent, whether in war-time or peace-time.

A SPECIOUS argument which one hears a good deal at present is that military training doesn't do a young fellow any harm anyhow; that he will be all the better and healthier for a bit of discipline and exercise; that, quite apart from war, we need to improve the national health and physique, and general military training is the best way of doing it.

Anyone who has studied this question will tell you that though physical fitness may undoubtedly be improved by military training (and it is, of course, the adequate and regular food, fresh air, etc., which do the good, not the military technique imparted), yet much more benefit is derived from exercise undertaken voluntarily than from that done under compulsion and therefore more or less perfunctorily.

A real concern for national health would find expression in a more determined onslaught on the fundamental evils of malnutrition and bad housing.

As ever we must fear the Greeks when they bring gifts!

THERE are many thin ends to the wedge of conscription which it is being attempted to drive into our national life today.

Some of them are more disguised than others.

But all of them must be strenuously resisted by the pacifist, for every fresh advance on the conscription front, even if it does not bring war perceptibly nearer, at any rate makes resistance to war incomparably more difficult.

There is much talk about the necessity of conscription in order to safeguard freedom. Every concession to conscription is a surrender of freedom.

Let us be perfectly clear that it is impossible to fight a totalitarian State without becoming a totalitarian State, impossible to oppose fascism by force of arms except by becoming fascist, and thus extending the domination of the evil to which we are opposed.

During the last war a mere handful of "conscientious objectors" created considerable difficulties in the working of the conscript military machine in this country. In Ireland the number of resisters was known to be such that the Government did not attempt to apply conscription to that country.

If even a considerable minority of the population of this country today makes clear its determined opposition to conscription and to all prosecution of war, it will make the war system unworkable.

ONLY JUSTICE AND GOOD WILL

Can End Drift to War

Dictatorships Would Collapse

PACIFIST LEAD TOWARD A GREAT CHANGE

"THE support of dictators is founded upon antagonism to rich neighbours. It must and will collapse if our manifestations of good will and economic justice are obvious enough; because it is a law of life that the common people of all nations want peace.

"The pacifist and political policy of Mr. Lansbury is, in my opinion, the only policy which can save Europe from disaster."

So said Max Plowman toward the end of his report, on Saturday, on his year's work as general secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, speaking at the annual general meeting in London.

"What the rearmament programme is based upon is," he continued, "first, the incompetence of British foreign policy for the past twenty years; and then, the consequent belief that men and nations become devilish and inhuman because—well, because they are foreigners, born like that, and that therefore it is our duty as Christians and patriots to become a little more devilish and inhuman."

"We say no!" We dare to say no—despite the fact that we ourselves are a part of the whole system of society which ultimately reduces man to a mechanical, murderous robot.

"We say no because we understand something of our own guilt, and therefore something of the need for and the meaning of sacrifice, and thus are prepared to make sacrifices for peace."

"We say no because we believe in individual responsibility, both for the existing state of international chaos, and for the practice of pacifism, which is the only cure for it."

THE FUTURE OF PACIFISM

"I said that the prospect looks either very dark or very bright. At the moment it grows increasingly dark."

"This stimulated rearmament policy is a pretty reliable thermometer of the fever of war. Nearly all the signs are against us; but there are breaks in the clouds here and there, and who knows whether we may not be in for a long, grey period of muddling and compromising through?"

"The change we know to be essential is very great; even the idea of it only filters into human minds with appalling slowness and under the pressure of dire events. Our business is to accelerate the process, and at the same time to keep our vision clear."

"The panic over Austria gives us a very clear warning of the way in which war will come if it should come. It will come out of the blue—quite suddenly and without warning. British prestige will be involved, and the cry will be 'Fight, or be annihilated!'"

"In that day all our innermost, spiritual resources will be called upon. To avert that day of wrath and terror, let us be up and doing in the indomitable spirit of our late beloved founder."

"Blake said: 'He who will not bend to love must be subdued by fear.' Let us bend to that love which is the imaginative understanding of our enemies, in order that we may not be subdued by the fear of their hatred."

WORK OF THE YEAR

Earlier, Max Plowman had reviewed the work of the PPU during the preceding year. Its policy had been, he said, to

Hold meetings all over the country with the ultimate object of obtaining signatories to the pledge;

Create as widely as possible autonomous groups and teams of signatories;

Maintain an adequate supply of books and pamphlets and leaflets advocating and popularizing the objects of the Union;

Carry on useful controversy in the national, provincial and local press;

Present news of particular interest to the cause, and a consensus of pacifist opinion, by means of a weekly newspaper.

He went on to show how that broad policy had been carried into effect, recalling the chief landmarks of a year full of growth.

COMRADES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Some of the facts and figures given during other reports are reproduced on

page four. Following are further points made by the speakers:

H. Runham Brown, as secretary of the War Resisters' International, said delegates could unofficially consider they also represented their comrades abroad who were resisting war. The function of the WRI was to give a sense of solidarity to all such people throughout the world. The only affiliation the PPU had made was to the WRI.

They actually had members in 68 countries. The WRI needed a great deal of help—people who knew languages, who could travel, and so on.

Captain Philip Mumford, treasurer, pointed out that the work of the PPU could hardly



Meetings, poster parades and a loud-speaker van are now everyday activity for groups in Devonshire.

Here you see the first poster parade and loudspeaker van setting off in Newton Abbott.

be maintained or extended unless approximately £9,000 was available. Our aim must be to become self-supporting, but if £5,000 could be raised from members' subscriptions, there was good reason to hope that the balance might be raised in larger donations. If 40,000 members would give an average of 2s. 6d., this £5,000 would be in sight.

John Barclay, referring to the growth in groups between the beginning of August and the beginning of September (figures on page four), thought it might be attributed to the return to their groups of "inspired people" from Swanwick Camp. The next step was regional activity.

Humphrey S. Moore, Editor of PEACE NEWS, told how the paper's circulation had been going up from the early days, and added: "I am convinced that we could, with your cooperation, ensure a circulation based on something more than just 'the inevitability of gradualness'." His advice to groups taking up street-selling was "start in a small way and grow."

THE ONLY REAL A.R.P.

PART of the time allocated to discussion of policy at the annual meeting was devoted to air raid precautions.

The subject was introduced by **Dr. Crow**, of Brighton.

"You know, and I believe the whole country knows," he said, "that high explosive bombs will account for practically all the damage, and against these you have virtually no defence at all."

They were told ARP might save life, but the pacifist method, "namely, the avoidance of war by dignified conciliation now, is a method which will save not one percent but 100 percent."

Then **Dr. Crow** suggested that each group should arrange in advance to get at least a few children into camps in the country immediately after the first air raid.

This, he said, would amount to saying

to people, "We will take your children away to where they will be safer than they are with you."

Discussion which followed centred in the extent to which pacifists could cooperate—if at all—in ARP.

Lord Ponsonby uttered a word of warning to those whose humanitarianism might lead them into cooperation.

"The Government," he said, "are convinced that it is a very good method of regimenting the population. They don't believe in ARP any more than we do."

If you got people to be ready for war, they would then want war, and be ready to acquiesce in the government's decision should they be forced to make it.

A. C. Staniland expressed his sympathy with those who felt impelled to help to relieve suffering. But, he pointed out, if they did humanitarian work acceptable to the government, there was no gesture against war left to them.

Among other speakers **Roy Walker** reminded members that bombers and ARP were essentially parts of the same policy; **W. J. Lyon** foresaw that "everyone taking part in ARP will be deemed part of H.M. Services"; and **Preston Benson** urged members to use ridicule as their weapon against ARP.

Captain Philip Mumford followed with a plea for caution. By attacking ARP we were attacking the symptoms and not the causes of war. It was dangerous to criticize ARP on the score of their ineffectiveness, for "next week a Whitehall genius might produce an effective ARP scheme." Pacifists should

say what they could do, and not what they would not do. They could not withdraw from the society in which they lived.

After **Miss Peggy Smith** had pointed out that pacifists should keep in the forefront the job of preventing war, and **Maurice Rowntree** had said it was wrong to assume that other countries were going to attack us, **Stuart Morris** summed up.

The last thing the PPU wanted to be, he said, was a dictator to its members. It must be left to the individual to decide how the pledge must be implemented.

(Other business is reported on page sixteen.)

NEXT PACIFIST CONVENTION AT SHEFFIELD

THE next of the series of pacifist conventions organized by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group will be held in the City Hall, Barker's Pool, Sheffield, on April 23.

Five pacifist MPs are included among the speakers—**James H. Hudson** (in the chair), **George Lansbury**, **C. H. Wilson**, **H. G. McGhee**, **Dr. Alfred Salter**; while addresses will also be given by **Miss Rose Simpson**, of the Women's Co-operative Guild, and **Dick Wood**, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Two sessions will be held, one from 3 p.m. to 5 p.m., and the other from 6.30 p.m. to 8.30 p.m.

Further particulars are obtainable from **Edward W. Fisher**, 31, Brook Road, Sheffield 8.

A.R.P. Action for Pacifist Teachers

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Four hundred and ten schoolteachers have joined the Peace Pledge Union Teachers' group. This was announced at the first meeting of the group, held in Friends House, London, on Saturday and attended by ninety teachers.

After some useful discussion of future plans and organization which, it was hoped, would proceed on a regional basis, the gathering was addressed by **Roy Walker** on the subject of ARP in schools.

He suggested that, wherever local authorities had decided to extend air raid precaution schemes to schools, pacifists should insist that parents be called to a meeting at which the case for and against ARP should be clearly stated.

If the democratic vote went against the pacifist it was up to the individual to make his decision in accordance with the dictates of conscience.

Mr. E. W. Grainger was appointed to act as joint secretary with **A. Bernard Hadley**, 40 Oak Hill Gardens, Woodford Green, Essex, to whom further names should be sent.

HEAR
MAX PLOWMAN
AT
PEACE SERVICE
To-morrow, SUNDAY (10th)
at 7 p.m.
THE KING'S WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH
Duke Street, Oxford Street, W.1.

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Woman's Point of View

What Women Have Done: War Resistance 1914-1918

WHEN war broke out in 1914, to the great sorrow of many women who had been fighting for emancipation, most of the suffrage societies gave up all their political work and threw themselves wholeheartedly into war activities.

One of the few women's suffrage leaders who were too clear-sighted to allow themselves to be stampeded into support of militarism was Sylvia Pankhurst, leader of the East London branch of the Women's Social and Political Union, who, when her mother and sister went war-mad and broke up the WSPU, saved her branch from the wreck and led it into the fight against conscription. Miss Pankhurst, with a loyal band of energetic working women, led the fight in East London against war and conscription.

Aided by the subscriptions and support of suffrage women from all over the country, she worked unceasingly to relieve the poverty and distress caused by the war-time dislocation, organizing milk centres, cost-price restaurants, a toy factory for the unemployed, and at the same time carrying on vigorous anti-war propaganda, leading marches against conscription to Trafalgar Square, and facing with unperturbed courage all the attacks which such unpopular conduct called forth in a country given over to war-hysteria.

IN the meantime, women also played a part in the anti-war and anti-conscription activities of the Society of Friends and the No-Conscription Fellowship.

As the war continued and more and more of the men were swept away to prison, the part played by the women became greater and more responsible.

In May, 1915, the Men's Service Committee was formed by Friends of military age to deal with all matters concerning conscription. By the spring of 1916 many of the most active members of the committee were in prison and their work was taken up by the women.

The Women's Service Committee, first formed in June, 1915, **IMPRISONED** was then amalgamated with the Men's Committee to form the **REPLACED** Friends' Service Committee, which did yeoman service on behalf of the men in prison and in the cause of peace for the next four years.

On it were Edith and Marion Ellis, Joan Fry, Hannah Clark, Lydia Smith, Theodora Wilson Wilson, and several others whose names are not quite so well known.

Edith Ellis was, I think, the first woman to go to prison for anti-war activities.

When a regulation was issued under the Defence of the Realm Act that no publication dealing with the war must be published without being first passed by the censor, the Society of Friends decided to disobey it, stating that it was convinced that in thus standing for spiritual liberty, it was acting in the best interest of the nation.

In accordance with this decision the Friends' committees continued to issue uncensored pamphlets and when the distributors of one of these, *A Challenge to Militarism*, were arrested Harrison Barrow, Edith Ellis and Arthur Watts (chairman and secretary of the Friends' Service Committee) took full responsibility.

The two men were sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and Edith Ellis to £100 fine and fifty guineas costs, with three months' imprisonment in default. She refused to pay her fine and served the imprisonment, although she was very delicate and the hardships of prison life seriously affected her health.

Several women Friends acted as visiting chaplains to the prisons, and Joan Fry and Mabel Thompson, of York, also acted as chaplains to visit the conscientious objectors in military detention barracks, into which women chaplains had never before penetrated.

BUT perhaps the greatest field for women's anti-war activities was in

the No-Conscription Fellowship. This organization is well described by John W. Graham, who writes:

"From the early days of 1915 until long after the Armistice its offices were a centre of throbbing activity and restless agitation."

"It carried on what was, in effect, an illegal organization in open defiance of the authorities. It engaged in battles of wit with both military and civil departments of State, and often won."

"It looked after the sufferers at home and abroad, and safeguarded them from the worst effects of the war mind. It signally defeated the obvious intention of the army to shoot resisters."

"It stirred a mass of intellectual opinion remarkable for its genius and standing. It roused trade unionism from a sleepy acquiescence in persecution to earnest protest."

"It broke down long-standing traditions in army and prison, until those in authority hardly knew what they were doing."

"Above all, it insisted throughout in carrying on a challenging campaign for pacifism, no less vigorous than its stand for liberty."

This is from *Graham's Conscription and Conscience*, published by Allen and Unwin,

which should be read by those who want to know more about this subject.

THE idea of a fellowship which would enrol all those who would refuse conscription was originated by a woman, Mrs. Brockway, whose husband, Fenner Brockway, wrote a letter in the *Labour Leader* (organ of the ILP) in the autumn of 1914, setting forth his wife's idea. Mrs. Brockway carried on most of the secretarial work in Manchester, but the Fellowship grew rapidly, and a London headquarters soon became necessary.

Already at the first conference of the Fellowship, held in London in November, 1915, under the chairmanship of Clifford Allen, Catherine Marshall, who came as fraternal delegates from the Women's International League, took a prominent part and from this time on she threw herself heart and soul into the movement, and worked for it unceasingly until her health broke down under the strain.

She had been a leader in the women's suffrage movement, and her wide political knowledge and influence made her indispensable in the negotiations with Government authorities, which became inevitable in safeguarding the interests of the conscientious objectors.

After the prosecution and conviction under DORA in May, 1916, of the NCF committee for publishing a leaflet called *Repeal the Act*, Catherine Marshall became honorary secretary of the NCF in place of Fenner Brockway, who refused to pay his fine and was sent to prison.

FROM this time onwards more and more of the responsible work of the Fellowship was carried on by women, and so many all over the country were giving up their whole time to the work, that it seems invidious to mention only a few of them.

Perhaps, however, it would be interesting to record the activities of those who carried on the work at the London headquarters.

Violet Tillard, who built up the Maintenance Organization, through which hundreds of conscientious objectors' families were saved from great hardships while their breadwinners were in prison, did great work as general secretary of the Fellowship after Aylmer Rose and Fenner Brockway had retired to prison.

In connexion with the printing of the *News Sheet*, she served 61 days' imprisonment under DORA, and while in prison she refused to wear prison clothes and made other protests against prison conditions.

She gave up her whole time to the Fellowship as long as the need lasted, and in 1921 she went to Russia with the Friends' famine relief mission. Her doctor said that her heart was not strong enough for her to take risks, but she insisted that the need was too great for such considerations, and in February, 1922, she died of typhus at Buzuluk on the Volga.

FOR the sake of the relatives of the conscientious objectors, and for the information of MPs, and the compilation of statistics for propaganda, **RECORD** a complete record of every **KEPT** conscientious objector, his **OF C.O.s** appearance before tribunals, his courts martial, removals to prisons and detention camps, was kept and filed in duplicate.

This meant a great amount of conscientious and monotonous work, which was carried out with great devotion by Gladys Rinder, Elizabeth Jenkins and a band of helpers, mostly women.

The Press and Publication Department of the Fellowship, which published

innumerable leaflets and pamphlets, letters to newspapers, the *CO's Hansard* and *The Tribunal*, was taken over by Lydia Smith when Hubert Peet went to prison.

I went to help her with this work in the summer of 1916 and later became secretary of the Parliamentary Department.

When E. J. Boothroyd's complete exemption was withdrawn in 1917, Lydia Smith took over the editorship of *The Tribunal*, which she carried through with complete success, in spite of all the efforts of Scotland Yard to suppress the paper, until all the conscientious objectors had been released.

FINDING that prosecution and imprisonment did not intimidate the members of the No-Conscription Fellowship, and that they **AUTHORITIES'** were immensely **EFFORTS** strengthened and held **FOILED** together, in prison as well as outside, by their weekly organ, *The Tribunal*, the authorities set themselves to prevent the publication of this little four-page weekly which had so much more influence than its size seemed to warrant.

First distributors were prosecuted and punished, but the distribution still continued. Then raids were made on the office to try and stop the distribution at the source.

At this stage it was realized that the paper was regarded as illegal and that at any moment the whole committee of the NCF might find itself in prison if it continued to be their official organ.

So the name of the NCF was removed from the paper and I took on the responsibility of publisher.

The next move on the part of the authorities was to prosecute Bertrand Russell for an article he had written in the issue of January 3, 1918, and me for publishing it.

We were both convicted, but the case went to appeal, and in the meantime I wrote an article in *The Tribunal* dealing with the establishment of brothels for British troops in France, which so annoyed the authorities that they not only raided our offices and took every copy of the paper, but also seized our subscription lists and sent police to raid the houses to which copies had already been sent.

So thorough were they that in many cases they waited for the postman and took his

copies from him, and even the British Museum was not allowed to have its official copy!

They visited the National Labour Press, which until then had printed for us, and warned them that their works would be dismantled if they continued to print it. This naturally made it extremely difficult to find another printer, but eventually a small printer, Mr. Street, agreed to do it provided we indemnified him against any loss.

THE problem we were then up against was how to ensure that the paper went on if and when the police dealt drastically with Mr. Street. **TRACKED** With the assistance of Dr. **BY** Alfred Salter we got hold **POLICE** of a small hand press, Lydia Smith found two daring printers, supplies of paper were laid in, and we felt ready for Scotland Yard to do its worst.

Within two months the blow fell, policemen raided Mr. Street's works, threw all his machinery and type into a lorry and locked up the premises. At the same time they raided our offices, took all copies, and told us with glee that *The Tribunal* would appear no more.

They were a little dashed when we cheerfully told them to wait and see, and, thanks mainly to Lydia Smith's brilliant foresight and careful organization, *The Tribunal* duly appeared the following week.

My name appeared as printer as well as publisher, with the address of our cottage at Leatherhead, and from this time (April, 1918), until the COs were released, Scotland Yard did everything it could to discover where our press was.

Lydia Smith and myself, the printers and the old mother of one of them (who came to the office weekly to fetch the copy under the very eyes of the Scotland Yard sleuths) were the only people who knew the whereabouts of the press, and many were the anxious consultations we had as to the best way of distributing the paper without giving any clues to the detectives, who followed us everywhere for many weeks.

They searched our cottage and the woods around it, they threatened us with the direst penalties of DORA if we didn't answer their questions, but still they couldn't find the press or stop the paper coming out.

So they summoned me on the ground that I was not the printer (although I stated, quite truthfully, that I owned the press and employed the workers) and that therefore I was publishing a paper without a correct imprint. I was originally fined with the alternative of 51 days' imprisonment (in the meantime I had already served a month's imprisonment for the Bertrand Russell article), but the case went to appeal and was not finally decided against me until January, 1920, when the trouble was over and *The Tribunal* had become legal again.

So Scotland Yard's last attempt to stop the paper also failed, and our two heroic printers in a little back street in North London carried their job through to the end.

I wonder if the owner of the capitalist paper who unwittingly lent us the large type for the heading, *The Tribunal*, would be glad to know that it was safely returned to his works?

TO outwit the police and keep a paper running which they had determined to stop was an amusing adventure, but hundreds of NCF women in other parts of the country had a harder task.

FACED Often isolated among pro-war fanatics, they had to **NEIGHBOURS'** carry on without their **TAUNTS** breadwinners, facing the taunts and scorn of their neighbours. Many of them travelled long distances to see husbands, sweethearts, or brothers in prisons and barracks, denying themselves necessities in order to buy books for prison libraries, cigarettes or food for men in camps and barracks.

Women who had relatives in prison did not suffer all the anxiety of those who had husbands at the front, but they suffered much from ostracism and persecution. Nevertheless, the vast majority of them supported the men in prison, and were of immense help and consolation to them.

The conscientious objector most to be pitied was he whose womenfolk were not in sympathy with his cause.

This story of the anti-war work of the women in the last war is perhaps rather long, but it is very much to the point at this crisis. Conscription is once more threatening the men of England. Is it not time we began to build the No-Conscription Fellowship anew?

By JOAN BEAUCHAMP

WHIRLIGIG by Percival Gull

MY latest stunt is a Correspondence School in Diplomacy. The fees are frightful and no jobs are guaranteed.

Here is the first lesson:

1. Learn how to control your feelings. Learn how to smile pleasantly. The best method is to stand in front of a mirror, smile pleasantly, wait until you hate the sight of yourself and then go on smiling for an hour.
2. Develop your brain. Learn by heart the last ten speeches of General Franco, Herr Hitler, and Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd. Then write an essay in the style of Charles Lamb on "Tactical Blunders in the Peloponnesian War."

WITHOUT COMMENT

I KNOW you'll be glad. This, from the *Daily Mirror* Charm School:—

A famous London hairdresser has designed lots of simple hair styles to go with your new spring face.

THE CAPTAIN'S DILEMMA

ANOTHER foreign propaganda organization has been discovered.

Its activities were first revealed a few weeks ago, when the captain of the Saucy Sue, fishing in the North Sea, found a parakeet sitting on the yard-arm. He offered the bird a herring.

All the parakeet did was to lift up its right leg and shout, "Hail, Burble!" Then it demanded a place in the sun and access to raw materials. In order to keep it quiet the captain was obliged to throw open the store chest.

SECOND INSTALMENT

WHEN he arrived at Yarmouth the captain reported the incident to his owners. But nothing would have been thought of it if the same thing had not happened a few days later at a dinner-party given by Lady Tickwort.

This time the bird was thoroughly bad-mannered. It blew in during a discussion on Etruscan sculpture, swore vigorously at the guest of honour, and demanded silence.

Then, closing its eyes, it went on to give a tedious harangue on the need for equity in international dealings.

THE UPSHOT

THE Government instituted inquiries. It has now been ascertained that, during the last six months, 4,609 parakeets have entered this country, each one bearing a sinister message aimed at our national prestige. They are trained abroad, then shipped to this country in boxes labelled "tomatoes."

Steps taken to counteract this insidious form of propaganda include a training-school at Wiggin-cum-Chort, where linnets and nightingales are being trained to sing the National Anthem.

Also, watchmen are on duty at the docks and before a case of tomatoes is allowed to touch the quayside it is first filled with a charge of buckshot. Most of the watchmen are ex-gamekeepers.

GOVERNMENT PAMPHLET

IN case the watchmen should accidentally aim at a case of real tomatoes, the Home Office have issued a pamphlet No. 4372187a/Bqv/7(A1q)4/9, warning housewives of the danger.

It points out that before eating tomatoes this summer it is advisable to skin them and pip them.

Skinning them is easy. The best way to pip them is to spear each pip with a needle and then attract the needle to a magnet.

DESIGN FOR LIVING

BUY four tons of sand, three hoses, one shovel, nine buckets, a bottle of glue, and ten-penny-worth of brown paper.

Take them into the kitchen. Lock yourself in. Seal up the cracks. Never come out again.

But leave the fireplace open, so that Santa Claus can visit you at Christmas.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

... to the person who sent me a photo of the Paris Exhibition. It had a poem on the back, complaining about my dullness.

On receipt of the writer's address I shall be happy to send her a photo of the Manchester Ship Canal. There will be a poem on the back, praising her cleverness.

Sent by a Reader



TOO YOUNG FOR
A GAS MASK. Sent
by Mrs. Halliday,
Dublin reader. Have
you a picture for
PEACE NEWS?

WHO'S in the NEWS

THE annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union overshadows everything else in importance this week. It may not be news to the majority of people, but to pacifists it certainly is.

We cannot mention half the people who took part in the discussions at Friends House, but Max Plowman must certainly have a place.

It is largely to Max Plowman's organizing ability that the PPU owes its strength and cohesion. He took a big part in the complicated arrangements for last weekend.

HIS HOBBIES CHANGED

MAX PLOWMAN was born in 1883 and, according to *Who's Who*, was "educated at various inferior private schools."

In 1919 he wrote *War and the Creative Impulse*, and in 1927 an *Introduction to the Study of Blake*.

One interesting fact about him is that since he became secretary of the PPU his hobbies have been changed from "cricket, music, and gardening" to "pacifism!"

He lives in North London, has one

son, and bears no love to those people who come under the heading of "crank." And his eye never sparkles so much as when he is discussing a leader in *The Times*!

ANOTHER UNKNOWN

MR. E. PENN, who also lives in North London, is another of those pacifists who hide their light under a bushel.

Mr. Penn is a humorist. When he was asked for a few details about himself, he replied that he had never shaken hands with the Archbishop of Canterbury nor played in a Cup Final!

His age is 34. He is married. He works somewhere in the City, wears spats sometimes, and refuses to take life too seriously.

Just now he has a problem to solve:

Last week I was told to build a gas-proof room. This week I am told to dig a trench in the garden.

How do I get from the gas-proof room to the trench in the garden without opening the door?

We referred him to Percival Gull.

FOUR TIMES ON TRIAL

WITH Easter coming along, quite a number of us are looking forward to fresh air and the open countryside. And quite a lot of us will be staying at youth hostels.

Harold F. Bing was one of the founders of the Youth Hostels Association and is still actively connected with it.

Besides the YHA he has been or is connected with nearly every important peace movement. He is a sponsor of the PPU.

He was born at Croydon in 1897. He was a CO during the War, was arrested in 1916, was tried altogether four times and did 2½ years in prison.

After the War he studied at London University. In 1921 he took a B.A. Hons. in History. In 1930 he took his M.A. with Distinction. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society in 1933.

You will find an article by Harold Bing on page eight.

His work for peace has so far taken him to the USA, Canada, and most countries in West and Central Europe. He was mainly responsible for the organization of the great World Youth Peace Congress held in Holland in 1928. Over thirty nations were represented.



HERTHA PAULI,
whose book on Bertha von Suttner is
reviewed on page eight.

Queer Origins of

THE WORDS WE USE

1.—"EXCHEQUER"

IT is peculiarly appropriate that chess is a favourite recreation of Sir John Simon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

You may wonder what the national exchequer (in which the whole country is becoming more and more interested as Budget Day draws near) has to do with a chessboard. Actually, the word "exchequer" itself comes from the Latin *Scaccum*, a chessboard.

In the reign of Edward I the English Court was divided into departments. This was in order that business coming under particular heads might be carried out by those in charge more efficiently than when the whole court had to deal with everything—a process that has gone on and now takes the form of a government with several departments, each with its Minister.

In the room where the department that looked after the King's income carried on its business there was a special table. On this was spread a cloth with squares marked out as on a chessboard.

In each of these squares the person corresponding to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer placed an equal-sized pile of coins, so as to facilitate the counting of the revenue. We have moved a very long way from this primitive method, yet the name of that useful tablecloth (*scaccarium*) has persisted to this day—in the form "Exchequer."

Nursery Rhymes for Modern Times



Drawn by Audrey Wynn

Hush-a-bye baby
While the bombs drop,
They fought the last war
So that warfare would stop.
Hush-a-bye baby,
They're fighting for peace.
We're likely to find it
Before the bombs cease.

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NEW BOOKS

AN ELUSIVE PARABLE

The Stolen Sword: The Tale of an Unbroken Covenant. By L. P. Jacks. Methuen. 6s.

Reviewed by Susan Miles

WITH a theme "fit for an Edgar Wallace on the one hand and a Sophocles on the other," *The Stolen Sword*, we are told, set out to be a parable and turned into disguised autobiography. The "I" of the story stands revealed as the accomplice of murderers. "Alas, is not that what we all are?" comes the apt comment.

The sword was handed down from the days when it was used at Agincourt. It figures in strange adventures. Set in the hand of a mysterious statue of St. George, it slaughters a tiger escaped from a show, and protects the baby of a half-witted girl whom the tiger murders.

As well as the sword-symbol there is the symbol of the Covenant. "We are not pursuing a policy, we are keeping a promise," insists the majestic woman whose courage and persistence enable the "I" of the tale to keep the Covenant.

The sword lies at last at the bottom of the sea. The best place for swords, whether actual ones or the more deadly instruments which Archbishops and others prefer to dub "the sword."

Yes, but it is sunk only that it may be preserved; the parable is no straightforward plea for disarmament. Indeed, *The Stolen Sword* is not much less elusive than Kafka's *Castle* or Charles Williams's *Place of the Lion*, with both of which it has qualities in common.

Had Dr. Jacks been mainly concerned that readers should deduce a moral he would have given more obvious clues. As it is, he has left us free to interpret as we will.

The parable, which is at the same time a thriller, will probably find as many interpretations as interpreters. Perhaps the sword is righteous vengeance, which in the view of the author, has from time to time found its place in the past in the uplifted hand of the patron saint of England, but which must now be laid aside until the trump of doom.

Perhaps the expert in antiques, who alone is competent to differentiate between the genuine and the fake, stands for the artist. Perhaps both these speculations are beside the point. In any case the puzzle is worth puzzling over.

A GREAT WOMAN PACIFIST

Nur Eine Frau. A Biography of Bertha von Suttner. By Hertha Pauli. Zeitbild Verlag, Vienna and Leipzig.

The title, to the average non-German reader, is I think, little calculated to rouse great interest in the contents of the book; in this case it is misleading. For the character which emerges from a wealth of somewhat sentimental prose and of anecdotal detail, quite often entertaining, sometimes apt is something more interesting than "Just a Woman."

Bertha Kinsky was born in 1843 of a noble Austrian family which, on the one side boasted a long line of generals and on the other claimed relationship with the poet of warlike heroism, Theodor Körner. There was seriousness and frivolity in the family and very early on Bertha rejected the frivolous element, yet found that those people who represented for her the serious side of life were as little satisfying to her.

It is significant that, when yet a young girl she crystallized her dissatisfaction in the term: "the tragedy of the Life-Lie," by which she meant the subordination of moral freedom and truth to fixed

social and political tenets, based on tyranny, greed and aggression, and dubbed common sense.

It was a great sorrow to her that people whom she loved and respected, such as her guardian Count Fürstenberg and later Alfred Nobel, should be hide-bound by belief in the inevitability of war.

Brought up in a warlike atmosphere, she also had considerable indirect and finally direct experience of war—during the Franco-Prussian and Russo-Turkish wars—which strengthened her in her convictions.

But it was not until she had broken with her old life by her marriage with the delightful Alfred von Suttner that she set to work to give a direction to her beliefs. This she did through writing.

Her varied experience of people and lands, and her rich personal experience, furnished an ample background for her first books.

From the beginning she was a success in the literary world, and her book: *The Machine Age*, with its pacifist tendency, appears to have gained for her international recognition. Nevertheless, the editors were afraid to publish the frankly pacifist *Lay Down your Arms*, which ultimately proved an enormous success.

Roused to enthusiasm by the knowledge that there was a Peace Association in London, Bertha von Suttner dedicated her life to the pacifist cause.

From Venice, where she actively combated the romantic attitude of woman toward war, she returned to Vienna, where she wrote to all the papers pointing out the necessity of abolishing the fear of war and pleading for the establishment of a pacifist union of European States. She succeeded in forming the Austrian Peace Association.

Her face, her charm, which seems to have been considerable, and her culture, added to a deep faith in mankind, and in her mission, and gained her a considerable following in spite of opposition.

Bertha von Suttner should be remembered when her books are no longer read, not only for her selfless devotion to the cause of peace, but for the one amazing fact of her being able to persuade the disillusioned Dynamite King, Alfred Nobel, to whom she was deeply attached, to found an International Peace Prize, of which, she was, in 1901, the first recipient.

She died, in June, 1914, on the eve of the Great War.

MARGURITE DAUX.

LONG AND SHORT VIEWS

The Moral Basis of Politics. By Naomi Mitchison. Constable. 8s. 6d.

If he reads it with the respect deserved by its frankness and integrity, this book is a severe test for any pacifist to submit himself to, especially if he is not a pacifist whose moral choice is based upon a religious certainty.

Mrs. Mitchison is a novelist of quality; one, that is to say, with a cultivated sense for character and situation. She has more conviction of goodness as an undefinable quality in human relationships than as the following of general moral principles.

She is inclined to think that most people want to be good, though few know how. But she modifies the Greek equation between evil and ignorance by providing a rag-bag class for "nasty" people. Not evil, "just nasty," the bored, the dead in spirit, a mighty "lump" in the path of social progress. Room must be found for them in the plot.

Their part, it is suggested, in combination with other "lumps"—hatred of change, lack of imagination—is to destroy all immediate moral simplicity.

Finally the values of the full Pacifist (P as distinct from the p pacifist, whose attitude is largely expedient) are the ones that should triumph, that are in accord with the wisdom of ages. But for the present, Mrs. Mitchison concludes, pacifism will not do; it will not make a convincing human story.

It may be that, in the short term, our vision of good brings not peace but the sword. Then the short-termers agree to be the sword-point and agree also to lose their souls—to do what they know is not right—in the faith that, sheltered by their bodies, right will survive. . . . those who have used the violence will probably never be able to have and use pacifist ideas themselves, but pacifism itself with all that it implies will have a chance in the end.

There, one might exclaim, is an offer. A war to defend pacifists! But if the survival of pacifism depends upon an apostolic succession one may be as nervous of the assistance of modern victory as of modern defeat. Outside Christendom, in any case, a Buddhist or Confucian of the true line may be left.

Above all one may still believe that thorough pacifism, "that goes with and implies," as Mrs. Mitchison says, "more and deeper and more creative ideas than the mere right not to be killed or kill," has a perennial source in the human spirit, through the momentary realizations of happiness that even fascism cannot completely exclude.

Mrs. Mitchison's offer—I am not sure she does not half feel it herself—is more than faintly absurd. The crash of Western civilization is more likely to leave the world bereft of the skill to compound poison gases than of the germ of the idea of a peaceful society. Rationalizations of the short view must be found a little nearer home. There they become flesh and blood.

A. C. STANILAND.

THE TEST OF CRISIS

Emotional Hygiene. By Camilla M. Anderson. Lippincott. 9s.

Written primarily for members of the nursing profession, this book is chiefly of interest to the general reader. In fact, it is difficult to see what value it could have for the trained nurse, psychiatrist, or social worker, as the treatment of the subject is so undetailed and general.

In the first part the Freudian interpretation of the biologic and social bases of behaviour is described in the simplest terms, reinforced by a selection of curiously unexpressive "cartoons." This is followed by a description of the application of this theory of behaviour to certain aspects of personal relationships and to the special fields of nursing and social service.

Particular importance is attached to the necessity in all such work of treating the symptom as an aspect of the whole personality; to regard the emotionally immature, the mentally defective, or the physically diseased, as individuals striving to become integrated personalities and not merely as "cases with defined characteristics."

Such an attitude requires an understanding of the nature of emotion which is indicated, not explained, in this book. Nevertheless the contrast between intellectual and emotional development, and the problem of brilliant intelligence coupled with emotional infantilism is clearly defined.

The most striking examples of such personalities are doubtless to be found in the mental hospital or the psycho-analytic clinic but, as the author suggests, a study of the behaviour of "normal" adults raises the query as to how many of them are more than children as regards their emotional development.

Since intelligence itself is no criterion, the judgment must be made from the kind of behaviour expressed in highly emotional situations. In a sudden emergency, in a crisis, in a moment of intense feeling, do we behave as men or as children?

The question is a direct challenge to every individual, but of special urgency to those whose work consists in the handling or guiding of other people's lives.

The solution to this problem is hinted at. If intelligence is indeed no criterion of emotional stability, it is certainly the key to it. "The ability to adjust at the social level is not a gift; one has consciously and constantly to work at it."

MARGARET POPE.

FOR YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

Earlier Books Recalled by Patrick Richards

VICTORIOUS LIVING. By E. Stanley Jones. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s.

In this "book of daily devotions," Mr. Stanley Jones, who believes that "Religion is a cry for life," and that Christians must be pacifists, describes a way of "victorious living" which necessitates pacifism. He discusses problems of interest to Christian and non-Christian alike: war, race prejudice, nationalism, economic inequality, competition, class and housing.

PERSONAL DISCOVERIES

Those Defenceless Years. By Denis Godfrey. Duckworth. 7s. 6d.

Denis Godfrey is a member of the PPU. *Those Defenceless Years* is his first novel.

Because of his being a pacifist, and because of this being a pacifist paper, some comment on the book's relation to pacifism seems unavoidable. This is rather a pity.

Probably the discoveries made about himself by its central character, Mark Coburne, are discoveries that almost every pacifist has made. "Loving, understanding, we achieve our happiness, bring happiness to others. . . . Uncomfortably close to a platitude as it sounds—as the author shows that he knows—it may, in experience, be new and startling to anyone, and for many, people is the basis of pacifism."

But to stress its relationship with a pacifist movement in the discussion of this particular book would be a distortion. *Those Defenceless Years* has been felt and thought in personal, not social terms.

Mark's family lives in Belgium. Mark is given a public school upbringing and then is shepherded into the family business. He escapes from this to London, tries a job or two in the city, has a love-affair which he succeeds in outgrowing, and finally returns to Belgium, to come to better terms with himself and his family, and to pick up the threads of a now tranquilized affection for a girl to whom he became engaged near the beginning of the book.

There is a good deal in this that is merely conventional. It might even be said that every character in the book except Mark himself is conventionally seen. There is the almost inevitable Steerforth character, the wise and disillusioned male friend, the sensual, mindless woman-over-thirty, the heavy father.

But in a first novel a writer is generally working toward seeing himself objectively; naturally he has not much time for other people. In the honesty and sensitiveness of that self-observation he gives the promise of his future.

Denis Godfrey sees and expounds Mark Coburne with quiet, imaginative insight. I find I cannot help hoping that membership of a movement will not hustle him past the development of that insight into similar propagandist writing.

MORNA MACTAGGART.

A COMMUNITY QUARTERLY

The Plough. Cotswold Bruderhof Press. 1s. 6d. quarterly.

This magazine, which is edited by E. C. H. Arnold, is most attractively produced by the Bruderhof Press. The range of the paper will be anticipated by all who have knowledge of the famous Cotswold Community.

This, the first number, contains two articles by the founder of the movement, Eberhard Arnold, who died in 1935. One article is on "The Mystery of the Early Church," the other on "St. Francis and Love."

No-one who is interested in the development of contact and coordination between the various communities in existence should fail to see *The Plough*, since it will contain regular reports from the newly formed Community Service Committee, of which Leslie Stubbings is honorary secretary. Mr. Stubbings contributes to this issue a survey of community progress in Great Britain up to the present time.

Dear Sir . . .

FRAMEWORK FOR A SCHEME OF PEACE

WHILE I am, on many points, in sympathy with the aims of the PPU, I cannot as yet claim to be a hundred percent supporter, but the chief plank in its programme, namely, the need for a drastic change in the economic relations between the nations as a removing of the causes which lead to war, is eminently sound.

To draw up a framework upon which such a scheme could be built and developed is an extraordinarily difficult task, yet it has been commenced in the shape of the Van Zeeland Report. Here, therefore, in tangible form, is one of the chief principles of the PPU movement, which, before the publication of the report, existed more or less in theory.

It seems only commonsense that every possible effort should be made by the PPU, through the activities of all its branches, by publicity in your paper and constant pressure by the group of pacifist members in the House of Commons, to keep the report before the public and to prevent its being shelved by the Government.

Although the report was instigated by

ourselves and the French Government, their united policies are now so bent upon the fatuous idea of preserving peace by piling up armaments, that it is to be feared that very little result will follow any attempts to keep the report alive in Parliament.

There is, however, more chance of success in refusing to allow the public to lose sight of the suggestions it makes as an alternative and practical method of preventing war. I am sorry there are not more signs that the PPU is engaged in the task.

The poster on the subject, mentioned in a brief note on page four of your current issue, should be widely circulated and kept before the public and the report given more and sustained publicity in all journals devoted to the cause of peace, both in this country and abroad.

Don't forget the old adage that out of sight is out of mind.

F. NORTON BELL.

Green Bank, Digswell, Welwyn.

CATHOLIC PACIFISM

Your correspondent, Mr. L. J. Russell, has criticized my article; I am grateful to him, and hasten to reply to the points he raises:—

1. In stating that scholastic philosophers have built up a defence of just war, I did not suggest that their findings are indisputable, but if it be conceded that a nation is a unity (and such a supposition is the essence of modern nationalism), the possibility of a righteous war follows with unerring logic. "Mussolini's Abyssinian adventure" to which Mr. Russell refers could be accounted a just war if Italy and Abyssinia were individuals, and if the former had been ruthlessly attacked by the latter—this of course was the version in Italy. That a conflict must be "regular" (i.e., declared by lawful authority) is only one of several stipulations demanded by theologians for a righteous war.

2. If through the centuries there had been no authority to which Christians could look for guidance respecting the principles of war, such a condition of affairs would imply failure not on the part of Christians but on the part of Christ, which is unthinkable. Surely Mr. Russell would not regard the "faithful few Waldenses and Quakers" (known from the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively) as being a visible fount of authority. It is true that there have always been Christian pacifists, but it is necessary to distinguish between counsel and precept; many Christian pacifists to-day urge their doctrine of non-resistance or non-violent resistance as morally obligatory whereas it is really a counsel of perfection, from the moral point of view.

3. Christianity does not demand a new human nature but the sanctification of human nature as it has always existed. Many Christians with high moral equipment have served in wars and doubtless have been subjectively justified; the trouble is not with their religious but with their political beliefs.

4. It is unsafe to assume that the basis of every action for a Christian must be "what would Christ do?" A Christian might flee from Gethsemane (this is in fact precisely what the Christian Apostles did) and the ordinary Christian need not spend whole nights in prayer, nor lack a roof; there is a wide variation between what is ideal and what is permissible in Christian action.

JOHN NIBB.

London, W.C.1.

LABOUR AND FASCISM

In the Public Affairs Commentary of PEACE NEWS of last week, there appears this statement:—

The Labour Movement only accepts rearmament as a defence against fascism, one of their chief dislikes of which is that it has removed the rights of bargaining won by the trade unions.

I consider the last part of the sentence grossly unfair. The Labour Movement hates fascism because it is the negation of all that the Labour Party stands for, of all for which so many lives have been lived and given up in all parts of the world.

(Mrs.) ALICE DE ZOETE ELLIOT.

Birchlee, St. Helen's, Isle of Wight.

"ABSOLUTE" PACIFISM

Mr. Leslie Wood attempts unsuccessfully, I think, to distinguish pacifists from "absolute" pacifists. No pacifist is a pacifist through intellect alone. The desire to see the human race preserved, the conviction that it should be preserved, is itself an emotion.

The intellect can suffer no distress at the thought of the race committing suicide, or offer any valid reason why it should not. The intellect cannot suffer anything; it can only observe and reason.

"Absolute" pacifism is, I believe, pacifism carried to its logical conclusion. Thus, Tolstoy, who was never afraid of carrying arguments to their logical conclusions, asserted that we should not use violence even to defend ourselves against a wild beast.

The whole question, however, is obscure, and horribly obscure! And all scholastic hair-splitting, if necessary, is fatal to action. The theory of pacifism, however, is as important as the action of pacifism, and without the wedding of the two, pacifism will remain incomplete.

For that reason I think the PPU could do nothing better than to issue a dictionary of pacifist terms, compiled preferably by Bertrand Russell or Aldous Huxley.

To the theological pacifist, if I may coin a phrase, a dictionary would be happily unnecessary. But to those who are unable to rest content with faith alone and require an intellectual justification for what they believe emotionally a dictionary is imperative.

DONALD R. S. DEY.

Ulva Ferry Inn, Mull, Argyll.

The Strike Method in History—2

THE LONDON DOCK STRIKE, 1889

THE unskilled labour of the greatest port in the world was at this time so badly organized that men fought each morning in iron cages for a chance to get a job.

Hours of work were irregular, depending on the arrival and departure of the ships. The rate of pay was fivepence an hour, with a certain amount of "plus" for some cargoes.

* * *

It was a dispute about "plus" which began this great strike in the South-West India Dock on August 12, 1889.

The men demanded sixpence an hour, the "Docker's Tanner," the abolition of piecework, extra pay for overtime and engagements for at least four hours at a time. Although the men were at first quite unorganized and did not belong to a union, the strike spread rapidly.

Ben Tillett, who had previously started a small Tea-Workers and General Labourers' Union, began at once to bring the men into a union.

He called in his friends of the London Gas-workers' Union, Tom Mann and John Burns. Burns proved a leader of magnetic personality and soon became famous on both sides of the world, gain-

"Rearmament Debunked"

ALTHOUGH the writer of the review of my booklet: "Rearmament Debunked! or Peace-making for Beginners," last week, was far more generous than I deserve in commenting on my main argument, she concludes with a sentence which takes the reader a good deal further along a mere by-path of my thesis than I believe is justified by the language I actually employ. She asks, "So long as . . . lethal violence remains even in the remote background of the picture, can we be sure that we have begun to be peacemakers?"

The point that I have turned aside to make (and I especially warn the reader in the same paragraph that space prohibits a full discussion of the issue) is that, whatever we pacifists may wish about it, the world's armaments can't be abolished overnight. Moreover, we have to contend with the fact that the world, for better or for worse, "is made up of all sorts of people."

Given the fact that we have to work out our pacifist ideals (if they are to be worked out at all) with people who believe in collective security and what not, I go on to suggest that "supporters of the idea of genuine international 'policing' measures may yet find their schemes practical as a half-way house to the total abolition of the world's existing 66 mutually hostile military systems."

Perhaps the compression which my argument has suffered has obscured the difference which I am trying to draw between collective security (which I have devoted half my booklet to exposing), and such acts of "genuine international policing" as we witnessed in the Saar plebiscite in 1935.

It is surely clear from my text that I am not giving unqualified support to this principle: I am merely pointing to it.

I have turned aside from the main argument in my booklet to plead that no bridge, however primitive, between the pacifists and non-pacifists, who likewise want constructive peace policies to prevail, is to be dismissed out of hand, and no half-way house on the long, long road of hoped-for disarmament is to be shunned on appearances alone.

This is a big subject, and the bridge or half-way house builder must be prepared to suffer misrepresentation from both sides. But now that the PPU has come out boldly with policies calling for a reformed League of Nations based on mutual service and respect, the existence of a large and influential body of non-pacifists who also, when it comes to rock-bottom, want the same things, must be openly and honestly faced.

The PPU annual general meeting last weekend showed that, in dealing with practical points, immediate progress was only possible on the basis of a compromise; nor did these compromises mean that private convictions had to be altered in any way.

A beginning has to be made somewhere. (Doesn't Van Zeeland himself believe in collective security—so must we on that account fling away the remarkable opportunity offered by his report?)

If the PPU cannot occasionally find some kind of *modus vivendi* within the British peace movement, how can it hope to bridge the vaster differences which divide the nations themselves?

JAMES AVERY JOYCE.

3, Crown Office Row, Inner Temple, E.C.4.

Why do you Oppose A.R.P.?

PERHAPS some of your contributors will be able to enlighten me, but at present I am unable to discover adequate grounds for opposing air raid precautions. To talk of them as "part of the regimentation of the people for war," though true in a sense, is surely misleading. Should not ARP, devoid as they are of any element of violence, come under the heading of "non-violent resistance" rather than of "war"?

Let us by all means proclaim how little can be done to mitigate the catastrophe of war, but why should we not contribute to that little in any way we can? By doing so we shall not weaken our position as opponents of violence. On the other hand by failing to do so we shall be neglecting an opportunity of helping our neighbours, and if we fail to do the little we might have done for the protection of those dependent on us, it seems to me that our conduct will be very hard to justify.

I know it is sometimes said that war is brought nearer by constantly thinking about it. But is there more than a very small element of truth in this? We shall certainly not prevent war by dismissing its possibility from our minds. Indeed it seems to me that by keeping public attention focussed on the nature of aerial bombardment ARP have brought home to us all the imminent horror of war, and have thus served the cause of peace.

ALAN BEETON.

Checkendon, Reading.

THE IDEA OF PACIFISM

May I draw your readers' attention to an editorial in the *London Mercury* of April, 1928. To all members of the PPU it is, I think, of special interest and significance. It reads as follows:—

If an idea is sound and healthy, and of a nature to commend itself to the average mind, if only the average mind can be forced against its will perhaps, to consider it at all, then a society numbering possibly only a few hundreds, or a few thousands of members, can so manipulate that idea that it can alter the appearance, the manner of life of England.

Once let there be some organization of which the prime object is to see that a particular point of view will be expressed upon all pertinent occasions, then that point of view will be allowed increasing consideration and accommodation by those who are not, perhaps, deeply interested in it, or strongly attracted by it, but are reasonable enough to grasp a sane argument when it is put forward.

WILL HAYDEN.

76, Calabria Road, N.5.

PATRIOTIC PACIFISTS

May I put in a plea for more consideration in PEACE NEWS for the patriotic pacifist? That he exists (poor wretch) I know to my cost, and his lot is not a happy one, for he has to break with old friends, and finds himself out of touch with new ones.

Yet I venture to think that he has his importance. The stalwarts of pacifism, brought up from the cradle to loathe the word "empire" and avert their eyes from the Union Jack, may be the best fighters, but it is to be questioned whether they are the best winners of new adherents to the cause.

The average Englishman does not "join up" because he is blood-thirsty, nor vote for rearmament because he has shares in armament factories, nor become an air warden from cowardice. He

(Continued on page 14, col. 1)

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From all Booksellers, or 3s. 10d. by post from
E.S.N.T., 11 Drummaugh Gardens, Edinburgh, 8.

S. D. U.

(Continued from page 13, col. 4)
does these things because he is grateful for the enormous benefits which he has inherited as an Englishman; proud of the achievements of his fathers, and fond of his beautiful country—because, in short, he is patriotic.

Arguments which appeal merely to his love of safety and comfort or to his common sense, will not move him. War may be stupid and may involve him in untold miseries, but if "he thinks he ought to go," go he will, and that from the highest motives.

The pacifist who "knows the heart of a patriot" but has been constrained by the love of Christ (or of the principles for which Christ lived and died) to sign the peace pledge may be able to show him a more excellent way.

D. S. BATLEY.

Mission House, Shikarpur P.O., India.

"THE PLOUGH"

A page of *The Plough*—the new quarterly printed and published by the Cotswold Brotherhood—has been placed at the disposal of the Community Service Committee for notes and news of community developments. It will be supplemented as and when need arises by duplicated bulletins circulated direct to those who have notified their wish to be kept in touch with one another and with the activities of the committee.

LESLIE STUBBINGS.

Honorary Secretary,
Community Service Committee,
"Chaneton," Dartnell Park,
West Byfleet, Surrey.

HOSPITAL PROPAGANDA

I should like to put forward a suggestion for groups who are keen on propaganda. Why not try the local hospital?

Our hospital is one of the largest in London. The Salvation Army comes every Sunday afternoon, to every ward, distributing copies of *The War Cry*.

Why should not we pacifists make use of such opportunities where permission can be obtained? Patients, when they are not very ill, have much time for reading and thinking and studying more serious things than they would at home. They can also discuss it freely among themselves and with the visitors and nurses.

We have lively discussions in our ward. I admit that the majority think that I am quite mad, but we can never tell where the message has sunk in. I have even introduced *PEACE NEWS* to one or two patients and left it to do its work.

MARGARET LEECH.

Middlesex Hospital Nurses' Home,
Foley Street, W.1.

Owing to early publication for Easter,
**Copy for the Diary and
Classified Advertisements**

should reach
17, FEATHERSTONE BUILDINGS,
not later than first post on
MONDAY

Drama

Plays Awaken Interest in Pacifism

From Our Own Correspondents

The recently-formed Pacifist Players of Leigh-on-Sea have given a three-day presentation of *The Enemy* at the local Congregational Church.

Each night the hall was fairly well filled, particularly on the last night, when inquiries were made about the pacifist philosophy.

Both local papers gave a nine-inch report, and one of them observed that in this day of mad rearmament it is a good thing to recall the lesson of the years 1914-18, and realize the futility of war.

TOPICAL AND AMUSING

The usual criticism levelled at amateur dramatic societies is that they do not show any originality in their selection of plays. The Old Glendalians' Dramatic and Literary Society is forestalling any criticism of that kind by the presentation, in Church House, Southgate, today, of *The Insect Play*, by the brothers Capek.

This play, which is topical, interesting and amusing, will at the same time provoke thought. It is not very often produced.

Classified Advertisements.

1½d. per word, minimum 2s. Box Number 6d. extra.

LATEST TIME FOR COPY MONDAY MORNING.

DRAMATIC

DO YOU live in North London? If so, come to Springfield Hall, Springfield Road, NEW SOUTHGATE, on Saturday, April 23 (8.15 p.m.), for a dramatic evening. New Southgate Pax Players present *Aftermath*, *The Last Rib*, and *And So to War*. Also, Madame Elsie Wood and the Windyridge Ladies' Choir. Admission by ticket—1s. and 1s. 6d. (reserved)—from 59, Waterfall Road, N.11.

PARS for the PLATFORM

More "Sobriety"

MORE evidence of the "sobering effect" of Britain's rearmament:—

Egypt.—Budget deficit of £4,000,000, due to increased defence requirements. Estimates include £3,400,000 for defence and the reorganization of the army.

Finland.—Bill providing for supplementary armament expenditure of £12,000,000 has been submitted to the Finnish Diet.

France.—Chamber recently voted two Bills providing £50,000,000 for the immediate needs of the Services. The Chamber also debated a bill for the organization of the country in case of war.

Rumania.—The 1938-39 Budget includes a supplementary credit of about £5,500,000 for the forces.

Switzerland.—Eighty-seven deputies of the Swiss National Council have petitioned the Federal Government, stating that the Swiss people consider the national defence should be further reinforced. The petition requests the Government to explain their intentions concerning the lengthening of the military service, the strengthening of the air force, and anti-aircraft defence.

Mr. Chamberlain—Realist

ALL the game our object must always be to preserve those things which we consider essential without recourse to war if that is possible, because we know that in war there are no winners.

There is nothing but suffering and ruin for those who are involved, and even if we ourselves were not involved there are world-wide ramifications of finance which could not fail to be involved in consequence of war and the destruction of life and property which sooner or later must react upon ourselves.

—From Mr. Chamberlain's latest pacifist speech.

Nevertheless he is preparing for a war in which we must, on his own showing, be losers. Yet pacifists are told by their opponents that the policy they advocate is defeatist.

Imperiling Human Life

CAPTAIN ALAN GRAHAM, MP, asked the Attorney-General on March 30 whether

in view of the present unsatisfactory state of the law in regard both to trials and to offences in connexion with the sabotage of his Majesty's ships, aeroplanes, weapons of war generally, and the machinery which manufactures them, he would introduce amending legislation to deal with all these matters, and especially to enable such cases to be tried under military rather than civil law, so that where by acts of sabotage human life is deliberately imperilled the administration of the death penalty may be facilitated.

The next step would seem to be for the military authorities to punish also those who go to war and thereby imperil human life.

Without Comment

REPLYING in the *Canterbury Diocesan Gazette* to correspondents who have urged him to call for a day of national prayer, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:

Such a call "might, however unreasonably, help to create an impression that we were in some imminent danger, even that war was impending."

"It is our duty to allay rather than to increase this sort of apprehension and the talk that encourages it."

Bulwarks of Peace

THE March 27 issue of the *Völkischer Beobachter* showed German bombers, soldiers, and an anti-aircraft gun, under the heading, "Bulwarks of Peace," proving that Britain has, after all, much in common with Nazi Germany.

EDUCATIONAL

RESPECT FOR THE INDIVIDUAL is the guiding motive of education at Sherwood School, Burgh Heath Road, Epsom. Junior House, 3-9 years. Senior House, 9-18 years. Vacancies for two boarders.

WE BUILD for Peace—May we send a prospectus:—Falcourt School, East Grinstead, Sussex.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

MISS J. D. WALLINGTON, health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerve and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth.

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ALBUMS, SCROLLS, &c. from 3 to 100 guineas. Battley Brothers Ltd., Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

MEETINGS, &c.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (London Union). A Fellowship Hour, for communion with God and each other, led by Rev. Alan Balding, is being held the third Monday in each month, from 6 to 7 p.m., at 165 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, discussion conference on *Communist Plan for Peace*, 2.30-6 p.m., Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.4. Chairman: Ted Bramley. Speaker: J. R. Campbell. Visitors Welcome. Admission 3d.

PERSONAL

A few members required to complete private holiday parties to:—(a) Bellagio, Lake Como, Italy, June 11 to June 26, £16 9s. 6d. inclusive. (b) Baden-Baden, and Gurnigel, Bernese Oberland, June 25 to July 10, £15 10s. 0d. inclusive. (c) Zell-am-See, Austrian Tyrol, Sept. 2 to Sept. 18, £16 19s. 0d. inclusive. See with your own eyes.—For full particulars please write to:—Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Giers, 51 Tierney Road, Streatham Hill, London, S.W.2.

POLITICAL

PACIFISTS who want political action should join the People's Peace Front. Particulars from Secretary, 18 Brunswick Square, London, W.C.1.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD, Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

TYPEWRITING

THE SOUTH LONDON TYPEWRITING BUREAU (Mabel L. Eyles), 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, S.E.24. Telephone Brixton 2863. Duplicating, typewriting, private shorthand lessons, speed practice, &c. Prices on application.

TYPING FOR "PEACE." Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3309; 7 Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, E.C.2.

WHERE TO STAY

COME TO BOSCASTLE for peaceful holidays; nature unadorned. Small furnished house to rent.—Write J. Stoney, Boscastle, Cornwall.

COTSWOLDS for early holidays. Sunny position in the "Valley of Peace." Altitude 600ft. Attractive "food reform" fare. Log fires. Constant hot water. Own car.—Tariff from Proprietors, A. C. and E. Rogers, "Fortune's Well," Sheepscote, near Stroud, Glos. Phone Painswick 2386.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House, Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

DOWNTON, WILTSHIRE. The Misses Philpott, Country Guest House, The Borough, Downton, Wiltshire. A roomy house on the banks of the River Avon, standing in a pleasant garden. Terms moderate.

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RESTFUL HOLIDAYS in charming Bexhill. Inclusive terms, pretty garden.—Miss Lamm, Heatherbrae, Little Common Road, Bexhill-on-Sea.

VEGETARIANS AND NON-VEGETARIANS will find comfortable rooms at 36 Archfield Road, Clifton, Bristol. Terms moderate.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

April

- 9 (Sat.) TORQUAY; 3.30 p.m. meet Town Hall; poster parade; PPU.
BRADFORD; 3.30 p.m. Greenfield Congregational School, Lumb Lane; youth conference; R. C. Wood on "Youth After War"; G. B. Wade (chairman); FoR.
ENFIELD; 6 p.m. meet 38 Bullsmoor Lane; poster parade; PPU.
NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Devon Square; open-air meeting; PPU.
UXBRIDGE; 8 p.m. Central Hall; open-air meeting; John Barclay; PPU.
SOUTHGATE; 8 p.m. Church House; *The Insect Play*; produced by Old Glendalians' Dramatic and Literary Society.
10 (Sun.) WILLESDEN; 4.15 p.m. St. George's Church, Willesden Lane; Nigel Spottiswoode; Brondesbury Adult Schools.
WALTHAMSTOW; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road; Rev. Basil Viney; PPU.
SOUTHGATE; 8 p.m. Odeon Cinema; Dr. Salter and Rev. C. H. Luckman; PPU.
KETTERING; 8 p.m. Central Hall; Miss Ruth Fry, George Lansbury, and Percy Wallis (chairman); PPU.
12 (Tues.) LONDON, N.W.1; 1.20 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; Dr. Cecil Roth on "The Jewish Contribution to Civilization"; Peace Committee of London Friends.
WORCESTER; 7.30 p.m. Guildhall; debate; Dr. D. McI. Johnson, Nigel Spottiswoode, Wilfred Littleboy; PPU.
BLACKHEATH; 8 p.m. All Saints' Parish Hall, Tranquil Vale; Denis Godfrey on "Why the Pacifist should Support the National Government"; PPU.
13 (Wed.) NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Women's Cooperative Guild; J. Wales and E. C. Maddax; PPU.
BALHAM; 8 p.m. Trevena Hall, Boundaries Road; Rev. C. H. Luckman (WR); on "War Resistance in other Countries"; PPU.
PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Hanover Street; debate: "Pacifism is Idealistic and Impracticable"; A. Cooper (Socialist) and R. Malloni (PPU); PPU.
WALTHAM CROSS; 8.15 p.m. Waltham House Hall; Capt. Philip Mumford, Raymond Page, and Mrs. R. Hobhouse (chairman); PPU.
14 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Shoran S. Singha on "The Dilemma of the Orient"; City PPU group.
NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. Public Library; annual meeting; PPU.
14-19 (Thurs.-Tues.) BRISTOL; Wills Hall, University of Bristol; Easter school; "Prospects for Peace and Social Justice in 1938"; details from LNU, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.
WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA; Lindsfarne College, Valkyrie Road; Easter Youth Conference; particulars from Richard C. Wood, FoR, 17 Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
16 (Sat.) EXETER; 3.30 p.m. meet General Post Office; poster parade; PPU.

EVENTS COMING SHORTLY

April

- 23 (Sat.) SHEFFIELD; 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. City Hall, Baker's Pool; Pacifist Convention; James H. Hudson (chairman), George Lansbury, C. H. Wilson, H. G. McGhee, Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Rose Simpson, and Richard C. Wood; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.
30-May 1 (Sat.—Sun.) CRICH, near Matlock; "The Briers" Guest House; area committee meeting and weekend school; Dr. E. Leighton Yates and Roy Walker; PPU; particulars from Guy Metcalf, Main Road, Easton-on-the-Hill, Stamford.

May

- 6 (Fri.) LONDON, N.W.1; 7.30 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; George Lansbury, Dr. L. P. Jacks, Lord Ponsonby, Stuart Morris, Dr. Alex. Wood, and Henry Carter; "Peace Through Economic Reconstruction" (with special reference to the Van Zeeland Report); reserved tickets one shilling from the Secretary, Embassies of Reconciliation, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.
14 (Sat.) NORWICH; St. Andrews Hall; delegate peace convention; George Lansbury, Lord Ponsonby, Mary Gamble, James Hudson, Dr. Alex. Wood, Dr. Salter, and Wilfred Wellock; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

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The BBC's "Way of Peace" Broadcasts

IS IT PEACE?

APPARENTLY it isn't, for Sir Alfred Zimmern concluded the last talk in the series by saying:

The conditions today are such as to put the long distance programme that I spoke of at the beginning, out of sight for the time being. . . . This series of talks may have helped us to do better than we did in 1919, when the next opportunity for a general settlement arrives.

Sir Alfred Zimmern virtually admits that he thinks war is inevitable, and anyone who thinks realistically must agree that the outlook for the world is as black as it ever has been.

Yet there is all the difference in the world between recognizing the likelihood of war and admitting its inevitability. Individually, it is a difference in attitude; nationally, a difference in behaviour.

To think of war as inevitable is an admission of social impotence—of one's inability to alter the standards and behaviour of other human beings. To speak of war as inevitable is tantamount to a vote of no confidence in humanity.

And as man is by nature a social being, those who think of war as inevitable will, sooner or later, begin to think of it as desirable, for the man who thinks society is irredeemable is already half way on his journey to insanity.

The pacifist today must fight hard with himself if he is to avoid the cynicism of the confirmed crank. He has two rocks on which rest the foundations of his sanity.

The first is his faith in himself and in his ability to act rightly in the face of opposition. But that in itself is not enough, for it is a purely egotistic outlook which by itself produces the self-righteousness of the hermit.

For social sanity the pacifist must also have faith in his fellow humans. Admittedly this is a tough nut for any sensitive person to crack today. "I wish I loved the human race. I wish I loved its silly face," is the attitude of almost every creative person in a time when the utterings of statesmen sound like the babblings from an international lunatic asylum.

If any pacifist finds this inner conflict between his desire to flow outward through love and his natural inclination to turn inward through fear and dislike, he can best seek his solution in the life and personality of the founder of the PPU.

Dick Sheppard's love of people was not founded on a self-righteous principle that he ought to love humanity; it was the natural result of the contact which he had with the individual human beings whom he met, coupled with the imaginative understanding that if he had had time to meet everyone in the world, they would none of them be much less likeable than the people whom he actually knew.

From the individual to the nation is a long step, yet in the last analysis, the actions of nations are the actions of men and women. The complexity and mechanization of society has enabled men to perform the most immoral actions imaginable without the consciousness of what they are doing.

The man who hews the coal that smelts the iron that makes the lever that drops the bomb that leaves the mother childless or the child an orphan, is so much occupied with the drudgery of his own work that his mind cannot span the distance between his own action and their ultimate implications.

So in the modern society the actions of nations are self-interested and immoral, and it is only by the individual's realization of his responsibility that the collective actions of nations can be subordinated to the standards of value which are the basis of all human relationships.

"All politics," says Sir Alfred Zimmern, "are power politics," and he goes on to discuss not how to achieve peace, but how to ensure that the right side (i.e., the democracies) wins the next war.

Yet to prepare successfully for the modern fatal war, the democracies must put themselves on the same footing as the dictatorships which they expect to

PARLIAMENTARY NOTES

By our Lobby Correspondent

NO-ONE will pretend that any considerable conversion to pacifism among trade union officialdom has been effected by recent events. But there is a growth of discomfort which later may be turned to healthy uses.

Little satisfaction was derived from Sir Thomas Inskip's high praise of the trade union leadership.

It was realized that there was no more in this than the Government's desire to give Labour's political leadership a back-hander. This has only irritated the MPs who represent the unions in the House of Commons.

One effect of this was seen in last Monday night's censure debate, when Mr. Gordon MacDonald, one of the miners' MPs, voiced the view that trades unionists only supported armaments if they were used for peace. The naïveté of such a claim is almost incredible after all labour has said in the past about the impossibility of securing peace by arms.

But Mr. Gordon MacDonald was quite in earnest. He saw nothing ludicrous in his assertion. Disillusionment for Mr. Gordon MacDonald cannot be long postponed, however.

There is a growing feeling among the politically-minded in the trade unions that they are becoming the victims of a gross betrayal.

The last time trade union leaders waited on a Prime Minister at Number Ten was during the General Strike.

Even if the leaders had forgotten the consequence of those stirring days, many of the rank and file have not.

The worst invasion of the rights and liberties of the trade union was made by the special legislation of the Tory Government in 1926. The trade unionists swore never to forget it; and never to rest until this blemish, regarded by them as fascist tyranny, was wiped from the statute-book.

What a spectacle, then, the trades unionists now offer trailing up the steps of Number Ten once more, forgetting all about 1926, listening with goggle eyes to the Prime Minister's account of the way all must unite to resist the fascist tyranny in Europe, even to the extent of scrapping still further such trades union privileges as the Act of 1926 permitted them to retain.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, who has himself devoted much ink in praise of a policy which would link Britain, France and Russia in support of a sort of holy war for socialism, now sees where he "gets off." A fortnight ago he wrote:

"There is no further excuse for self-deception. (I hope he sees this applies to himself.) Any worker . . . who aids this Government to rearm is serving not democracy, not collective security, but a shrunken, cowardly reincarnation of the capitalist imperialism of 1914."

Midst disillusionments of this sort, we shall begin to see an increasing caution among trade union leaders and a growingly clamant objection among the rank and file against pursuing the present road to colossal armaments much further.

If this estimate is true—and I believe

fight. When this is done, they cannot reasonably pretend that they are fighting for justice, freedom or any other of the values which are so liberally splashed over the recruiting posters.

What the democracies are preparing to fight for is not democracy but their own self-interest. And the weapons which can defend self-interest are not the weapons which can defend democracy with justice.

Preparation for armed conflict involves the monopolizing of wealth and the terrorizing of the enemy by an overwhelming superiority of the weapons of destruction. Preparation for peace involves the sharing of wealth and the establishment of trust and confidence between all nations. The two roads lead in opposite directions, and it is up to us now to choose which we shall tread.

it is—now is the time for every PPU group to challenge the trade unionists in their vicinity with the statement that armaments never can secure peace. Peace comes only as a result of entirely different methods from those devised by the military mind.

Mr. Hore-Belisha's unwillingness to undertake that boys of seventeen should not be recruited into the army was as callous as his excuse was disingenuous.

He could not, he said, put recruits to the trouble of getting a birth certificate. Such a solicitude would be remarkable if it were not humbug.

Midst all the readiness to demand birth certificates by all sorts of departments, for all sorts of purposes, it is really too much to believe that the War Office—which is hardly noted for its kindly scruples—should be the only department unwilling to ask for a birth certificate.

All war is an outrage, but there is no greater outrage than to take a young and irresponsible lad, deluded in a moment of enthusiasm, and then bind him for years, in peace and in war, to train for the business of slaughtering and being slaughtered by his brother man.

The Prime Minister informed Mr. Sorensen that he could not accept his suggestion that the Government should propose to the League the experimental control for ten years of certain colonial areas by an international civil service.

One wonders what the Government will do on the colonial question. Are they only prepared to make a proposal when violence is threatened?

They were ready enough last week to recognize the Anschluss when Hitler had marched. With how much better grace could they have conceded the Anschluss years ago when it was reasonably urged?

Are we to wait until the colonial question also passes out of the realm of reason into one of force?

In the House of Lords, Lord Snell again asserted that the Labour Party wanted conciliation where grievances existed. "I have never," he remarked, "said a single word in favour of war, and I never shall." But he could not help girding at Italy because her word could not be relied on.

How, then, could Lord Snell speak of conciliation with a nation whose word in any case he is apparently unwilling to accept?

As Lord Ponsonby wisely said, "Other countries might commit crimes, but the attitude of getting on a pedestal and lecturing other people was not going to secure peace."

James H. Hudson

EASTER HOLIDAY

PPU Headquarters will be closed for Easter from 2 p.m., April 14, to 2 p.m., April 19, and will not be open on April 13 and 20 after 6 p.m.

LNU EASTER SCHOOL

"Prospects of Peace and Social Justice in 1938" has been chosen as the subject for discussion at an Easter School to be held in Wills Hall, Bristol, from April 14-19. Speakers at the school, which has been organized by the League of Nations Union, will include Dr. G. P. Gooch, Rev. Gwilym Davies, Mr. F. W. Leggett, Chang Su Lee, Mr. J. R. Leslie, Mr. G. le M. Mander, Professor R. B. Mowat, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Mr. Frederick Whelan, and Mr. Alec Wilson.

Further details are obtainable from the LNU, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W.1.

More Activity in The Colleges

From Our Own Correspondent

LAST term the Provost gave his consent to the formation of a Pacifist Society at University College, London, provided membership was open to all, and it was not affiliated to the PPU.

A constitution has been drawn up and early next term the society will hold its first general meeting for the election of officers. There are seventy pledge signatories and it is hoped that all these will become active members. PEACE NEWS is sold outside the college gates every Friday.

DEBATE ROUSED INTEREST

A Bedford College Pacifist Association has been started on the initiative of several members of the FoR.

A recent debate in which Dr. Donald Soper spoke for pacifism roused interest in the subject and after thirty signatures had been obtained on a circulated list a group was formed on condition that meetings should be held in conjunction with other societies.

The aim of the association is to study the theory of pacifism and to promote the interests of pacifism in the college. Membership is open to all.

(Formation of University Pacifist Federation—page 16.)

An Unanswerable Case for Pacifism

From Our Own Correspondent

The Church of Scotland Peace Society held a joint meeting with the Aberdeen group of the Peace Pledge Union in the YMCA last week.

The speaker was Professor G. H. C. MacGregor, Professor of Biblical Criticism in Glasgow University, and president of the Church of Scotland Peace Society.

There is only a minority of ministers in Aberdeen who are prepared to accept the full pacifist position, but the "anti-pacifists" did not seem willing to listen to a pacifist address which would have been very difficult for any professing Christian to refute.

One minister, evidently the only non-pacifist cleric at the meeting, had listened with the closest attention, said he thoroughly agreed with the speaker, but was perplexed about the expediency of our country being wholly pacifist in the present condition of world stress.

Professor MacGregor replied that his own pacifism was based on a deep and religious conviction that it was the right thing to do, and there never could be a wrong time to do the right thing.

Replying to another question Professor MacGregor agreed that the Church was losing thousands of young people who were now considering these matters intelligently in their own minds, and that if the Church persisted in its present attitude it would be superseded, if it wasn't already too late, for even now science was showing the way.

The Rev. H. H. Ceiron Jones, minister of the Aberdeen Unitarian Church, was chairman.

Catholic Peace-Workers

"Pax," the Catholic pacifist society, is now affiliated to the Catholic Youth Peace Action and is now the nucleus of an international peace organization based on Catholic principles, according to the third issue of Pax Bulletin, the monthly publication of the society.

"It has been decided by the committee not to seek for any formal affiliation with the PPU," adds the Bulletin, "but members are recommended to cooperate with that body in any way they can."

The issue includes a report of an address by Mr. Attwater on his experiences in America as far as "Pax" was concerned. He mentioned an invitation he had received, from the Rector of one of the most up-to-date seminaries, to address the students so that they would "hear from him what they were not likely to hear from other sources, and what it was nevertheless imperative that they should hear and know."

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PEACE NEWS

April 9, 1938

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Pacifists from All Britain Meet 1,000 DELEGATES AT P.P.U. ANNUAL MEETING

WELL over a thousand people attended the first annual general meeting of the Peace Pledge Union, held in Friends House, London, during the weekend.

There were 310 official delegates from groups. Just over half of all those present came from London and the Home Counties. The rest came from nearly every part of the British Isles. There were members from the North of Scotland, Northern Ireland, a large number from North and South Wales, from the whole of South and South-West England, the Eastern Counties, the North and the Midlands.

The preliminaries—appointment of chairman and of standing orders committee—were soon over and the gathering was welcomed by George Lansbury.

By 2.30 on Saturday afternoon the delegates had already got down to the first part of their business. This consisted of reports on the work of the PPU, referred to on pages four and nine. During the afternoon a telegram was read from the Groupement Pacifiste Internationale, of Paris, conveying fraternal greetings and expressing solidarity.

VIEWS ON CONSTITUTION

The evening session was devoted to the proposal for a constitution.

As several groups had expressed the view that the organization of the PPU should continue under the sponsors, the meeting was given the opportunity of discussing it on a resolution "That the meeting proceed to the next business."

Stuart Morris introduced the subject by reminding delegates that "too many movements have been killed by becoming organizations and ceasing to be organisms." We had to preserve the essential fact that we were above all a fellowship.

If they decided not to discuss the proposed constitution there would, of course, be safeguards and guarantees. Obviously, for example, there must be an annual conference.

Mr. Wray, of the Hastings group, who moved the "next business" resolution, said he had the unanimous authority of his group to speak in the strongest possible terms against any kind of constitution.

"As the organization has been run in the last eighteen months," he said, "it has been as effective as it could be. A constitution will not make it more effective. We believe that the spirit of the movement is such that it will ensure its democracy. . . . Let's get on with the job of pacifism."

Maurice Rowntree (London) said that those who opposed the resolution did so without the slightest criticism of the sponsors and were as keen as anybody to get on with the job. But there should be some way for the feelings of the groups to be felt at Headquarters, and vice versa.

Andrew Stewart (Glasgow) said, "A constitution is nothing more or less than a system of guarantees. I am not going to be content with anything short of the ideal." The time spent in discussing the

THOUGH there might have been some difference between them in words there was none in spirit, said Stuart Morris in closing the conference. "I hope we shall go back to our groups really thrilled by this gathering," he added.

constitution was wasted, for there was much work to be done.

The feeling that there was a tendency for the movement to become an office-directed movement was expressed by Sydney Conbeer (Birmingham). What was wanted was a people-directed movement.

The need for the establishment of some relationship between the office, the groups, and the individual members was stressed by Nigel Spottiswoode.

Though a number of delegates voiced the feeling of provincial members that they needed a constitution in order that London should not dominate the controlling body of the Union, a Dolgelly member testified to the ease with which he had been able to make contact with headquarters and make known to them his own views and wishes. To which an Ayrshire delegate added: "We can make our voices heard in London."

NO MORE WAR MOVEMENT

Explaining the position at the time of the amalgamation of the No More War Movement with the Peace Pledge Union, Wilfred Wellock said that the NMWM was content that a constitution should be drawn up and put to the membership for consideration.

Lord Ponsonby said that when Dick Sheppard asked him to be a Sponsor he did not know what Dick Sheppard was talking about. But when he met the others he found they were not business-like, but he knew that Dick Sheppard had got together a few men who meant business.

He pointed out that they had wasted more than an hour already. But it was nothing to what they were going to do to the pages of constitution points and amendments. Let alone the time the office would waste wondering if it was really acting in accordance with its powers. They were living in the most dangerous times; let them not waste another moment.

Speaking both as a Sponsor and as a delegate instructed to vote for a constitution, Harold Bing said he did not feel particularly strongly either way. It was

true that the PPU, on the merging of the NMWM, had undertaken to consider democratization, and on the whole it was true to say that they had fulfilled that condition.

Stuart Morris emphasized that even if it went to a vote and one side must win, there would be no question of a split in the movement. In reply to a question, he said that the Executive Committee was appointed by the Sponsors, though all the members were not necessarily Sponsors.

It was decided almost unanimously to accept a compromise suggestion that the constitution should not be proceeded with, but that instead there should be an election of Sponsors.

The result of the election of 25 from among those nominated for Sponsorship and for the Council for which the proposed constitution had provided appears on page one.

The afternoon session on Sunday opened with a discussion on policy. The outline of the proposed campaign in support of the Manifesto is reported on page one, while the discussion on air raid precautions is given on page nine.

During this time a resolution: That the question: "Do you wish to become a member of the PPU?" be printed on all cards and literature where the pledge is reproduced for signature, was discussed and lost.

SUBSCRIPTION SCHEME

Mr. G. C. Baldwin then explained the scheme of membership and subscriptions in force in the Nottingham area. After discussion it was decided to refer this, and other schemes to the Finance Committee (the latter being augmented by two members from the provinces), which will examine them and make a recommendation to all groups.

The discussion on policy was then resumed. (Earlier there had been some criticism of various points in the manifesto, Stuart Morris explaining that it was not thought advisable in the present situation to delay publication until the annual general meeting, which would in any case be too large a body to draft such a document.)

Mr. Scott Bayliss said he wished, nevertheless, that the manifesto had been first submitted to the meeting. As to the Van Zeeland Report, he thought the PPU was making too much of it, and described it as a "conglomeration of platitudes." He was also distressed at the way in which the Nazi point of view was being propagated, he thought quite unconsciously, by PEACE NEWS.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

"There is not an aspect of politics in which the pacifist outlook is not essential," said Ben Green, the next speaker. "We are faced with the possibility of a political situation arising where pacifists can play practically no part." Yet, he said, there were tens of thousands who still based their socialism on a pacifist basis. Therefore, "we must consider how to get back moral leadership of the Labour Party."

Harold Bing asked whether the method of political parties was consistent with the pacifist philosophy of life, and urged that our means should be consonant with our ends.

Theodore Faithfull declared our troubles arose from the fact that under the existing financial system we could not let other nations have the raw materials they needed.

Later in the discussion it was again explained that it had been "impossible to persuade the crisis to wait" for the Manifesto to be submitted to the annual general meeting.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1, by "Peace News" Ltd (registered and printed for them by The Walthamstow Press London, E.17.

A LINK FOR UNIVERSITY PACIFISTS

From Our Own Correspondent

AT the annual general meeting of the PPU delegates from the universities of Great Britain decided to form a University Federation of Pacifists. The aims of the federation would be to enable the pacifist societies and groups in the various universities to keep in touch with one another and if possible to work in cooperation.

It was suggested that there should be a speaking tour of the South of England in the summer vacation, and this was agreed upon. It was decided that

An executive committee should be appointed in London to which each London college should appoint one representative; this committee should be regularly in touch with the provincial universities by letter;

There should be an annual meeting which representatives from the provincial universities should attend;

Each college society should subscribe 2s. 6d. from its funds toward the committee's expenses;

Every college should have a pacifist representative on the committee, whether there was a pacifist group in that college or not.

University College, London, should be appointed as the most suitable centre for the committee to meet.

It was decided to leave the election of the committee until the summer term, when college societies could elect their representatives. Meanwhile a provisional committee has been set up which will meet at 3 p.m. on Friday, April 22. The place of meeting will be announced later, either in the next issue of PEACE NEWS or else by letter to individual colleges.

All pacifist bodies in colleges which were not represented at the meeting on Sunday night are asked to send one or more members to this meeting, or to write, sending particulars of their activities, to Miss M. E. Garvie, Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.

All college societies are urged to send news of their activities for publication in PEACE NEWS. Until further notice they should be sent to Miss Mary Webber, 7, Taverton Street, W.C. 1.

Non-Violence Will Win in the End

From Our Own Correspondent

A stand for the ultimate victory of the principle of non-violent methods in settling international disputes was made by Mr. R. E. Abbott, a member of the Society of Friends, and of the Peace Pledge Union, at a meeting in connexion with St. Ives (Cornwall) Peace Week on Friday last.

Mr. Abbott said that war could be regarded from the Christian attitude, in which case it was wrong, and from the logical attitude, in which case it was futile.

In the event of another war they would be told they were fighting the menace of fascism, and protecting a "vital British interest." Such a war would not accomplish any more than the last one did.

In conclusion, Mr. Abbott affirmed that a real peace could not exist without first the establishment of justice in the relationships of the individuals of which nations were composed. Fundamentally, what was needed was a change of heart.

EXTREMES MEET

Mr. C. T. Culverwell, at the annual meeting of the Bristol West Women's Unionist Association:

It would be most unwise in the face of all the difficulties surrounding us to try to force the Government, by a plea for idealism, a plea for interference in Spain or for assistance in Austria, into a European war.

The rise of Hitler to power and the violent action taken to restore the rights and prestige of his people would never have been necessary if this country—and primarily other countries—had not withheld from Germany what was fair and just, and her rightful dues.

ONLY TO PART COMPANY

In the face of the ruthless aggression of the dictators all we can do is to pin our faith in our own strength and the strength of our friends.

We must now face hard facts and realize that our security lay in our own strength.

Dr. Alfred Salter, at a Peace Pledge Union meeting at Bristol referred to the present clamour, particularly from the Left, for the Government to do something to help Spain and Austria, to protect Czechoslovakia, and said such actions would almost certainly involve this country in war.

Hitler is an effect and not a cause. He is primarily a result, a consequence of causes created by us. We have been piling up insults and humiliations on Germany for years and years. What result do you expect of treating Germany in that fashion?

If you want to take away the support Hitler has, you have got to redress German grievances. Until you do that the existing European tension will not merely continue, but will be intensified.

We have got to be prepared to put forward positive, reasonable, practical, constructive measures of peace.

STOP PRESS

PPU Manifesto adopted, with recommendations to all their ministers and congregations to endorse and support it, by Unitarian and Free Christian Peace Fellowship at annual meeting on Wednesday evening in Leeds.